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AN ANALYSIS OF COMMUNITY INFLUENCE: SOME CONCEPTUAL
AND METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

by
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A THESIS

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled "An Analysis of Community Influence: Some Conceptual and Methodological Considerations" submitted by Serena Phillett in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

Date

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is concerned with some of the conceptual and methodological aspects of the study of what might either be called 'community influence' or perhaps 'leadership in the small town'. After describing the development of sociological interest in this area and justifying its study, the relevant concepts and methodologies are presented and the three basic objectives of the thesis spelled out as follows: to attempt to clarify some of the conceptual difficulties; to test the utility of a specific typology of influentials; and to validate two different research techniques in terms of one another.

An extensive review of the pertinent literature sets the stage for the empirical test of three hypotheses, one representing each of the basic objectives of the thesis. The data which are used in this testing were collected during the summer of 1963 as part of a more extensive research project sponsored by the Centre for Community Studies located on the campus of the University of Saskatchewan in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan.

In four differently sized Saskatchewan towns the following research took place. First, a number of reputedly influential townspeople were each asked to list and rank order those who they thought to be the most influential in the community. Second, they were asked to explain why they had made each choice, and to rate each of their choices as to whether the person contributed to the making of community decisions, whether the person was the type who gets things done in the community, and whether the person is one whose opinions carry much weight in the community. Comparisons of the replies to these various questions were used to test the meanings of some of the relevant concepts, and as such served the first of the

objectives of the thesis.

Second, an attempt was made to classify the top influentials in each community with regard to whether they were 'visible' leaders (i.e. ranked high by both other influentials and non-influentials), 'concealed' leaders (i.e., ranked high mainly by top influentials, and considerably lower by non-influentials), or 'symbolic' leaders (i.e. often ranked high by non-influentials, less frequently by top influentials). The ability to so classify was the criterion upon which the second hypothesis was judged.

Third, information was gathered as to who were the persons, in each town, that held the highest offices in the most important voluntary groups in the community. This rating of 'formal' leadership was compared to the rank-ordered lists of persons with the greatest local reputations for community influence. The degree to which these lists coincided was the test of the validity of the two identification techniques.

The first hypothesis was not accepted. That is, the data did not demonstrate that any of the different aspects of leadership (influence, decision making, getting things done and having opinions which carried weight) were used synonymously with one another. However, their relationships to one another were set out, and this did serve the first objective of the thesis.

The second hypothesis was accepted. That is, it was found that, in all of the four small towns studied, influentials could be categorized as visible, concealed or symbolic. The discussion pointed out, however, some of the limitations of the classification system, and suggested that its methodological and conceptual values were in doubt.

The third hypothesis, stating that in the small community the

reputational influentials will also be the formal leaders, had to be rejected on the basis of the very stringent criterion set up. It was made clear, however, that there was considerable overlap between the results of the two methods of leader identification and, with regard to this and the other results, summarized above, suggestions for further research which might continue to serve the basic objectives of this thesis were made.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This thesis reports on a study conducted in four small Saskatchewan towns and is concerned with an evaluation and reformulation of the concepts and methodologies of community leadership and influence. The subjects of leadership, influence, power and authority have long been of interest to the social scientist as well as such persons as social philosophers, legislators, and military personnel.¹ Community leadership and community power structure are areas of more recent concern encouraged primarily by such publications as Middletown by Robert and Helen Lynd, published in 1929;² The Social Life of a Modern Community by Lloyd Warner and Paul Lunt, published in 1941;³ Elmtown's Youth, written by August Hollingshead in 1949;⁴ Floyd Hunter's Community Power Structure, published in 1953;⁵ and The Power Elite by C. Wright Mills in

¹The definition of leadership and related concepts is discussed in Chapter III.

²Robert S. and Helen Lynd, Middletown (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1929).

³W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, The Social Life of a Modern Community (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941), Vol. 1, Yankee City Series.

⁴August B. Hollingshead, Elmtown's Youth (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1949).

⁵Floyd Hunter, Community Power Structure (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1953).

1956.⁶ Stimulated by these writings, a substantive and extensive body of scientific literature has accumulated during the last decade or so on the subject of community leadership. This literature may be roughly divided into five categories according to their major objectives:

1. Studies that deal primarily with identifying the community leaders and describing their social and/or psychological characteristics.⁷
2. Those interested mainly in outlining the interaction patterns and interrelationships among the leaders.⁸

⁷ See, for example, B. Abu-Laban, "Leader Visibility in a Local Community," Pacific Sociological Review, 2 (1961), pp. 73-78; Robert E. Agger, "Power Attributes in the Local Community: Theoretical and Research Considerations," Social Forces, 34 (1956), pp. 322-331; E. C. Devereux, "Community Participation and Leadership," Journal of Social Issues, 16 (1960), pp. 29-45; Linton C. Freeman, et. al., "Locating Leaders in Local Communities: A Comparison of Some Alternative Approaches," American Sociological Review, 28 (1963), pp. 791-798; Robert K. Merton Social Theory and Social Structure (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1957), pp. 387-420; Delbert C. Miller, "Industry and Community Power Structure: A Comparative Study of an American and an English City," American Sociological Review, 23 (1958), pp. 9-15; R. J. Pellegrin and C. H. Coates, "Absentee-Owned Corporations and Community Power Structure," American Journal of Sociology, 61 (1956), pp. 413-419; R. O. Schulze and L. U. Blumberg, "The Determination of Local Power Elites," American Journal of Sociology, 63 (1957), pp. 290-296; Christopher Smith, "Social Selection in Community Leadership," Social Forces, 15 (1937), pp. 530-535; Frank Stewart, "A Sociometric Study of Influence in Southtown," Sociometry, 10 (1957), pp. 11-31 and 273-286; J. E. White, "Theory and Method for Research in Community Leadership," American Sociological Review, 15 (1950), pp. 50-60.

⁸ See, for example, Charles M. Bonjean, "Community Leadership: A Case Study and Conceptual Refinement," American Journal of Sociology, 68 (1963), pp. 672-681; A. A. Fanelli, "A Typology of Community Leadership Based on Influence and Interaction Within the Leader Subsystem," Social Forces, 34 (1956), pp. 332-338; Delbert C. Miller, "Decision-Making Cliques in Community Power Structures," American Journal of Sociology, 64 (1958), pp. 299-311; Paul A. Miller, "The Process of Decision-Making Within the Context of Community Organization," Rural Sociology, 17 (1952), pp. 153-161.

3. Literature that is concerned with discovering and describing the structure of the leadership system.⁹

4. Those dealing with the leadership process; how policies are initiated, decisions made and carried out.¹⁰

5. Literature that is involved in the analysis and critique of different methodologies used to identify the community leaders.¹¹

Many studies deal with more than one of these objectives and could fit into several of the categories. The relevant literature will be discussed in Chapter II.

⁹See, for example, Ernest A. Barth and Baha Abu-Laban, "Power Structure and the Negro Sub-Community," American Sociological Review, 24 (1959), pp. 69-76; William H. Form and William V. D'Antonio, "Integration and Cleavage Among Community Influentials in Two Border Cities: A Comparative Study of Social Relations and Institutional Perspectives," American Sociological Review, 24 (1959), pp. 894-914; Hunter, op. cit.; D. C. Miller, loc. cit.; Mills, op. cit.; Pellegrin and Coates, op. cit.

¹⁰See, for example, Charles Freeman and Selz C. Mayo, "Decision Makers in Rural Community Action," Social Forces, 35 (1957), pp. 319-322; Elihu Katz and Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Personal Influence (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1955); Paul A. Miller, op. cit.

¹¹See, for example, Harry R. Dick, "A Method for Ranking Community Influentials," American Sociological Review, 25 (1960), pp. 395-399; H. J. Ehrlich, "The Reputational Approach to the Study of Community Power," American Sociological Review, 26 (1961), pp. 926-927; John M. Foskett and Raymond Hohle, "The Measurement of Influence in Community Affairs," Research Studies, State College of Washington, 25 (1957), pp. 148-154; James G. March, "An Introduction to the Theory and Measurement of Influence," American Political Science Review, 49 (1955), pp. 431-451; Nelson W. Polsby, "The Sociology of Community Power: A Reassessment," Social Forces, 37 (1959), pp. 232-236; Polsby, "Three Problems in the Analysis of Community Power," American Sociological Review, 24 (1959), pp. 796-803; Peter H. Rossi, "Community Decision Making," Administrative Science Quarterly, 1 (1957), pp. 415-443; Raymond E. Wolfinger, "Reputation and Reality in the Study of Community Power," American Sociological Review, 25 (1960), pp. 636-644.

JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY OF LEADERSHIP

One may wonder about the current concern for leadership. Alvin Gouldner places leadership in the same category as unemployment and race relations; that is, it is a social problem, and, like other social problems "it is conditioned by and formulated in terms of specific values."¹² One value, Gouldner believes, is the principle which states that leadership is learned rather than being the result of certain hereditary factors. A second is that need of man to gain control of his environment; a need that stems from the growing feeling of alienation that men are experiencing in the present society. Gouldner has defined alienation as the lack of identity with the goals that men are pursuing, or a feeling of 'powerlessness' in the face of strong social forces, such as wars. He states, therefore, that:

When leadership is invoked today, often what is being asked for implicitly are men who can accomplish what the alienated individual, overcome by a sense of his powerlessness, feels he cannot. The leader becomes the symbol of control and mastery, of knowledge and insight, denied the masses.¹³

A third condition which has led to a rise in the interest in leadership is the status anxiety of the business man. Recently the business elite has had to defend and justify their traditional leadership position against such new interest groups as unions, nationally organized enterprises, and giant monopolies. To sum up, Gouldner explains:

Leadership appears to have emerged as a social problem when individuals possessing a specific frame of reference confront crisis situations with which they feel themselves impotent to deal. This frame of reference emphasizes democracy, individualism, and mastery

¹²Alvin W. Gouldner (ed.), Studies in Leadership (New York: Harper & Bros., 1950), p. 5.

¹³Ibid., p. 7.

of the environment.¹⁴

From this point of view then, the study of leadership is indeed an important one.

Knowledge of leadership may be said to be valuable for other reasons. Insofar as the structural-functionalists have drawn certain parallels between the small group as a social system and the community as a social system, information on the latter may serve to illuminate the extent to which similar processes do operate in both systems.¹⁵ Furthermore, many theories developed from the study of small group leadership might be applicable to the study of community leadership, and vice versa.¹⁶

An understanding of community leadership is often helpful to community workers; either officials within the community who are trying to initiate a new project or outside agents attempting to reorganize the community or to promote a new project or industry.¹⁷ White has pointed out that "too many authorities embark in haste upon promotional programs without systematic knowledge of the complexities of community leadership structures."¹⁸

¹⁴Ibid., p. 11.

¹⁵See especially George C. Homans, The Human Group (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1950).

¹⁶For a discussion of the value of small group research see Peter H. Rossi, op. cit., pp. 432-433; and for the use of social psychological data in community research see Robert E. Agger, op. cit.

¹⁷See, for example, Otto G. Hoiberg, "Contributions of the Social Scientist to Community Development," in Marvin B. Sussman (ed.), Community Structure and Analysis (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1959), pp. 129-143; and Paul A. Miller, op. cit.

¹⁸White, op. cit., p. 51.

The study reported in this thesis may be valuable not only in comparing four communities with one another, but also in examining the similarities and differences between these communities and others already studied.¹⁹ Furthermore, this study tests some hypotheses which were developed from prior research and theory, clarifies some of the methodological and conceptual problems previously experienced, and raises some new hypotheses as well.

Finally, studies of community leadership make an important contribution to the general fund of scientific knowledge concerning individual behavior, group behavior, and the relationship between the individual and his social situation.

CONCEPTS

There have been two general approaches to the determination of a definition of leadership.²⁰ The oldest is the view of the leader as a person who is born with particular qualities or traits which distinguish him from other men. Weber's "charismatic leader" is a good example of this approach. The second, called the "situationist" approach, emphasizes the fact that leadership is learned and is determined and directed by the situation, rather than by the person. This approach focuses on leadership as a role learned by an actor and on the relationship between

¹⁹For the importance of comparative research, see Peter H. Rossi, op. cit., p. 438.

²⁰For a discussion of the various approaches to the study of leadership, see Gouldner, op. cit., pp. 3-49; and Luigi Petrullo, Introduction, in Luigi Petrullo and Bernard M. Bass (eds.), Leadership and Interpersonal Behavior (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1961), pp. xii-xxxiv.

the leader and the follower.

Both of these schools of thought have developed a different definition of leadership, and even definitions within each school are not always compatible. Consequently, an examination of the current literature will reveal that the concept of leadership is a nebulous one. It is often used interchangeably with other such concepts as influence, power, authority, prestige and status. Definitions of these concepts depend particularly upon the research technique used to study them. In operationalizing the term leadership different researchers have asked the following questions. "Who are the important people in town?" "Who are the big wheels?" "Who are the most powerful?" "Who are the leaders?" "Who are the influentials?" "Who are the decision-makers?"²¹ The use of different research techniques does not, however, deter the authors from stating that they are all studying "community leadership."

One objective of this study is to attempt to clarify some of these conceptual difficulties by comparing a group of persons in terms of four factors: influence, decision-making, getting things done, and opinions carrying weight. Many studies have suggested that these are the most important factors related to community leadership.

TYPES OF LEADERS

It is often useful to distinguish between specific types of leaders. Researchers have developed several typologies based on a variety of criteria. Sometimes leaders are differentiated according to

²¹More specific illustrations are presented in Chapter II.

their institutional affiliations, resulting, for example, in 'economic elites', or 'political dominants'.²² Other studies merely distinguish between top and secondary leaders, based upon the relative ranking of the person along some continuum. Another typology classifies leaders according to the 'degree' to which they are visible to the total community. Bonjean differentiates between visible leaders, those who are perceived by the community at large; concealed leaders, those who have "more influence within the leadership circle or power elite, and consequently in the community in general, than the community at large realizes,"²³ and symbolic leaders, those who "probably do not wield as much influence in the community as the community at large thinks they do."²⁴

Another objective of this study is to test Bonjean's typology in four small communities. (His research was carried out in a city of 48,000 persons.)

METHODOLOGY

When studying community leadership, one of the first problems confronting the researcher is which of several techniques to use to identify the leaders. Among those available are: 1) the positional technique, 2) the formal technique, 3) the issue approach, and 4) the reputational technique.²⁵ The positional approach assumes that leadership

²²See, for example, Schulze and Blumberg, op. cit.

²³Bonjean, op. cit., p. 678. ²⁴Ibid.

²⁵For an excellent summary of the different methods used to study leadership, see W. Bell, R. J. Hill, and C. R. Wright, Public Leadership (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Co., 1961), especially pp. 5-33; and Rossi, op. cit., pp. 415-443.

stems from the holding of certain important community positions such as the executive of a large local business corporation. Here it is the position which is conceived of as important, rather than the person. The formal approach sees leaders as those persons who hold offices in local voluntary associations. The issue approach involves selecting persons as leaders who are in some way involved in specific issues confronting a community. The most widely used method for identification however, is the reputational or 'power attribution' technique. It became particularly popular after Hunter used it in his study of Regional City.²⁶ Since then, this approach has been adopted by many researchers to be used in communities of a great variety of sizes. Recently it has been the subject of much criticism--an indication that suggests the probable necessity of either refining it, or of using another technique.

The reputational technique has many variations, but essentially it consists of asking a panel of informants to name and/or rank the leaders in their community. This panel may be made up of specially selected 'knowledgeable' persons, or else a random sample of the community's population. The final list of leaders is usually selected by choosing those persons who have received a certain number of 'votes' or 'mentions' by the panel, or persons whose 'average ranking' is above a certain arbitrarily set limit.

The most serious criticism levelled at the reputational technique is in terms of its validity; the fact of regarding reputations for leadership as the index of real leadership.

²⁶Hunter, op. cit.

The third objective of the study reported in this thesis is to use the reputational technique to identify community influentials and to validate this approach by comparing its results to the formal technique of identification. The formal technique, mentioned above, is somewhat more objective than the reputational, as it does not rely upon perceptions. Leaders are selected on the basis of holding a certain number of offices in local voluntary groups or else by acquiring a certain number of points accumulated through some scoring system. This approach rests on an assumption of the importance of voluntary associations in a community as a potential source of community leadership and a potential channel through which the leadership may be expressed.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This chapter is divided into three major sections. The first is a discussion of the reputational technique of leader identification, including a review of studies which have used it, and an account of some of the major criticisms of it. Next an attempt is made to clarify some of the conceptual problems raised in studying leadership. This is followed by a discussion of some of the systems which have been used to classify types of leaders.

THE REPUTATIONAL TECHNIQUE

Selection of the Panel

The reputational technique generally involves having a panel of 'judges' to name and/or rank community leaders. In the traditional reputational approach, the panel is composed of a few specially chosen persons; that is, chosen on the basis of their presumed knowledge of the community and the residents. The number of persons on this panel has varied: Hunter used 14 judges in a city of about 500,000 persons;¹ Barth and Abu-Laban's panel consisted of 16 judges for a population of 25,000;² Miller had 10 judges in each of two cities with populations of about

¹Floyd Hunter, Community Power Structure (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1953).

²Ernest A. Barth and Baha Abu-Laban, "Power Structure and the Negro Sub-Community," American Sociological Review, 24 (1959), pp. 69-76.

450,000;³ and Freeman and Mayo used 16 judges for a town of 1,000 persons.⁴

In a town of 4,000 residents White had a panel composed of 105 persons, all of whom were heads of organizations.⁵ Schulze and Blumberg used the same system in a city of 20,000 and their panel was made up of 143 heads of organizations.⁶

Other researchers have chosen different kinds of panels, for example, one composed of a random sample of the community's population. Stewart took a 25 percent random sample of a town of 6,000 persons.⁷ Fanelli had 304 respondents in a town of 5,000 residents,⁸ and White interviewed 176 persons in a community of 4,000.⁹

Another variation in the sampling method used for selecting a panel

³Delbert C. Miller, "Industry and Community Power Structure: A Comparative Study of an American and an English City," American Sociological Review, 23 (1958), pp. 9-15.

⁴Charles Freeman and Selz C. Mayo, "Decision Makers in Rural Community Action," Social Forces, 35 (1957), pp. 319-322.

⁵James E. White, "Theory and Method for Research in Community Leadership," American Sociological Review, 15 (1950), pp. 50-60.

⁶Robert O. Schulze and Leonard U. Blumberg, "The Determination of Local Power Elites," American Journal of Sociology, 63 (1957), pp. 290-296.

⁷Frank Stewart, "A Sociometric Study of Influence in Southtown," Sociometry, 10 (1947), pp. 11-31 and 273-286.

⁸A. A. Fanelli, "A Typology of Community Leadership Based on Influence and Interaction Within the Leader Subsystem," Social Forces, 34 (1956), pp. 332-338.

⁹White, op. cit. (Two panels were used in this study; one made up of the heads of organizations, and the other a random sample of adults in the community.)

is known as the "snowball" or "cobweb" technique. Used by Bonjean¹⁰ and in the study reported in this thesis, it involves interviewing some person in the community who the researcher has reason to believe is a leader (the mayor, for example). This person is asked to give a list of persons whom he feels are leaders and to rank-order these persons as "most influential" and so forth. Everyone (or the top ranked persons) on this first list are then interviewed. They are also asked to name and rank a list of leaders, and then these persons are interviewed. Bonjean continued this process until:

. . . new lists yielded many more duplications than nominations. After forty-five interviews it was evident that there was relatively high agreement in regard to sixteen community leaders and little agreement on the remaining one hundred nominations. Additional interviews would probably have had the same results. . . more nominations for the sixteen top leaders and more names to add to the remaining list of one hundred.¹¹

The question of just when to stop interviewing is discussed below as one of the problems or limitations of this method, so it is simply noted here that we went somewhat further than Bonjean and continued interviewing until very few new names appeared and our panel of respondents seemed to be as large as it could be without including obviously marginal persons (that is persons who themselves were named only once or twice).

The snowball technique has several advantages over the other panel methods. It controls for the personal bias which may be involved in the small panel method by pooling the perceptions of the leaders themselves.

¹⁰Charles M. Bonjean, "Community Leadership: A Case Study and Conceptual Refinement," American Journal of Sociology, 68 (1963), pp. 672-681.

¹¹Ibid., p. 674.

It is less time-consuming than the random sample method and it eliminates the factor of social distance between the respondent and the leaders which acts as a source of inaccuracy of perception. Persons named as leaders themselves should be in the best position to judge who the leaders are.

Selection of the Leaders

After the researcher has compiled the list of names given by the panel, he then develops some system of selecting, from the list, those persons he will regard as leaders for the purposes of his study. The usual system involves choosing those persons who have received more than a certain number of "votes" or "mentions".¹² If the panel were asked to rank the names of the leaders, some researchers will compute a "rank score" for all the names on the list and persons who have above a certain score are designated as leaders. Bonjean, for example, requested 20 nominations from each respondent, and then assigned 20 points for each first place rank a person was given, 19 points for each second place ranking, and so on.¹³

Other research procedures vary according to the objectives of the particular study. Most researchers conduct interviews with the designated leaders (if they have not already been interviewed) in order to obtain some further information.

¹²See, for example, Stewart, op. cit., and William H. Form and William V. D'Antonio, "Integration and Cleavage Among Community Influentials in Two Border Cities," American Sociological Review, 24 (1959), pp. 804-814.

¹³Bonjean, op. cit.

EVALUATION OF THE REPUTATIONAL TECHNIQUE

The reputational technique has had wide appeal, for it is relatively simple, easy to administer, less time-consuming than other techniques, and as Harry Dick suggested, it has "face validity"--it obviously "gets at" some aspects of the community leadership system. "Indeed, the appearance of most of the names at the top of the list will very likely be substantiated by the common-sense judgments of the investigators, or by those of the casual observer of community affairs."¹⁴

Accuracy of Perception

There are some very crucial problems raised by critics of the various reputational techniques. One is the question of the accuracy of the perceptions of the panel. Wolfinger has suggested that both private citizens and persons active in public life are unreliable sources of information.¹⁵ Polsby said that there "is no effective way of checking the expertise of the experts."¹⁶ These and other critics have wondered about the extent to which the resultant list of leaders is merely a function of the nature of the panel. Would a different panel produce the same list?

With regard to this problem, White compared the lists of leaders given by two different panels; one composed of heads of organizations,

¹⁴Harry R. Dick, "A Method for Ranking Community Influentials," American Sociological Review, 25 (1960), p. 395.

¹⁵Raymond E. Wolfinger, "Reputation and Reality in the Study of Community Power," American Sociological Review, 25 (1960), pp. 636-644.

¹⁶Nelson W. Polsby, "Three Problems in the Analysis of Community Power," American Sociological Review, 24 (1959), p. 796.

and the other a random sample of adults.¹⁷ He selected the top 40 leaders given by each panel, and found that only 20 persons appeared on both lists. Schulze and Blumberg compared the results of three panels; one composed of the heads of organizations, one made up of 'economic dominants' (persons occupying top positions in the major local industries), and one in which the panelists were the 'public leaders'; that is, the group of persons originally chosen by the heads of organizations. The authors found "a high degree of consensus. . . as to the overall composition of the local elite of power and influence."¹⁸

The extent to which the perceptions of a panel are "accurate" may be a function of the visibility of the leaders to the community at large. Abu-Laban has defined visibility as the relationship between "the positions of both the perceiver and the object of perception in the social structure."¹⁹ He found that the ability to "correctly" perceive the community leaders was enhanced by such positive characteristics of the respondents as their degree of social participation, social class, and by the social participation and publicity of the leaders. This may account for some of the differences in the results of the studies of White and Schulze and Blumberg. White's panel (heads of organizations) was in a much better position of perceiving the leaders than a random sample panel.

Ehrlich has pointed out that, from one perspective at least,

¹⁷ White, op. cit.

¹⁸ Schulze and Blumberg, op. cit., p. 293.

¹⁹ Baha Abu-Laban, "Leader Visibility in a Local Community," Pacific Sociological Review, 2 (1961), p. 73.

accuracy of perception may be irrelevant for certain research purposes.²⁰

If it can be said that a respondent's perceptions may have a very real effect on the way in which he behaves, then from this point of view his perceptions are both real and accurate. This explanation calls to mind the famous dictum of W. I. Thomas that if a situation is defined as real, it is real in its consequences.

Validity

Critics have also questioned the validity of the reputational technique. Wolfinger asks: "Are reputations for power an adequate index of the distribution of power?"²¹ The reputational technique probably yields a list of people who have the potential for power or influence, but to what extent do they actually wield power or influence? Merton identified influentials by asking a sample of residents to whom they would look for advice on a variety of topics.²² It is not demonstrated, however, how frequently, in fact, these influentials are employed as sources.

Katz and Lazarsfeld report on a study of women who were asked to name potential sources of influence and persons who actually influenced them to make an opinion change.²³ They found that the two groups are likely to be very different. Furthermore, they noted that the 'actual'

²⁰H. J. Ehrlich, "The Reputational Approach to the Study of Community Power," American Sociological Review, 26 (1961), pp. 926-927.

²¹Wolfinger, op. cit., p. 637.

²²Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1957), pp. 387-420.

²³Elihu Katz and Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Personal Influence (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1955).

influentials were mostly persons with whom the women had daily contact, while the potential sources of influence were persons located at some social distance from the informant. The results of this study add some weight to the significance of using the influentials themselves as the panel of informants (that is, the snowball technique).

Agger asked a group of respondents to nominate influentials in three specific areas, and also asked them to whom they would go for advice in each of these three areas. He concluded that: "There is substantial agreement between choices as to who is influential and to whom respondents say they would go for advice."²⁴ However, one still cannot have complete confidence that the respondents actually use the potential influence sources.

Polsby has stated that reputations can be divided in two parts: that which is justified by behavior, and that which is not. He argues that because the researcher wants to get at the first part, one should study the actual behavior and not depend on second-hand opinions.²⁵

In the study of community power, as in other areas of sociology, the examination of intentions, reputations, and attributions is to be applauded. The interpretations we assign to these "meanings" must, however, always be modulated and enriched by our knowledge of the behavior which accompanies them.²⁶

Freeman and his associates commented that although these criticisms are important, the researcher is still faced with certain basic practical

²⁴Robert E. Agger, "Power Attributes in the Local Community: Theoretical and Research Considerations," Social Forces, 34 (1956), p. 325.

²⁵Polsby, op. cit., pp. 796-797.

²⁶Nelson W. Polsby, "The Sociology of Community Power: A Reassessment," Social Forces, 37 (1959), p. 236.

problems in dealing with community leaders. They state that "All existing studies of community leadership represent some compromise."²⁷ That is, in lieu of a direct measure of influence, the researcher must often use an indicant of influence. Fosskett and Hohle note:

Thus, for convenience and economy it is often desirable to use an indicant of influence which correlates in some way with the phenomenon of influence itself. . . .However, there is here the danger of failing to distinguish between an indicant and its referent.²⁸

Ehrlich argues against the critics in the following way:

Certainly, we can say that reputations for power are indeed an adequate index of the perceived distribution of power in the local community. . . .Thus, for example, if we can ascertain that the way in which people perceive the power structure of the local political system affects the way in which they behave towards and in that system, then surely we are dealing with very meaningful and indeed very useful considerations.²⁹

Ehrlich does, however, recognize the importance of validating the reputational technique: "Without such demonstration, . . .the reputational approach may be telling us nothing or very little about the objective structure of power and decision-making in the local community."³⁰

A few studies have attempted to validate the reputational technique by comparing its results to those of other techniques. Stewart used the reputational technique and five other methods: 1) office-holding; 2) newspaper mentions; 3) self-evaluation on leadership; 4) self-

²⁷ Linton C. Freeman et al., "Locating Leaders in Local Communities: A Comparison of Some Alternative Approaches," American Sociological Review, 28 (1963), p. 792.

²⁸ John M. Fosskett and Raymond Hohle, "The Measurement of Influence in Community Affairs," Research Studies, State College of Washington, 25 (1957), pp. 148-149.

²⁹ Ehrlich, op. cit., p. 926.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 927.

evaluation as "Advisors";³¹ and 5) magazine reading interests. He concludes:

. . . each of these five methods of selection has something to recommend it for specialized purposes. But duplications with the list of top influentials [that is, those obtained from the reputational technique] range from 39% up to only 67%. So no one produces a list sufficiently like that derived from cross-sectional interviews to serve as a short-cut to arriving at the identities of those who have a large measure of inter-personal influence.³²

Freeman and Mayo selected leaders in four neighborhoods by using three methods.³³ They tabulated "formal leadership scores" for each individual in the four neighborhoods on the basis of the formal positions they held during a two-year period in all local organizations. This group of people were called the "formal leaders." The second source of leaders came from asking four judges in each neighborhood to rate a list of persons (previously compiled by the investigators) according to the part they had in making major community decisions. An "informal leadership rank" was calculated on the basis of the average rating given by the judges to each individual. Next, information was obtained on 41 community actions involving some 813 decisions which had taken place during a two-year period. Decision-making scores were tabulated for each individual who was known to have had any part in making decisions for the 41 actions. The authors found there to be "a general positive relationship between individuals' standings on the three measures of leadership" in three of the four neighborhoods.³⁴

³¹ Stewart, op. cit., p. 21. ("Advisors" were all persons giving a positive response to the question: "Have you given advice to anybody at all recently?")

³² Ibid.

³³ Freeman and Mayo, op. cit.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 321.

An opposite tendency was found by Freeman, who used four techniques of identifying leaders: reputational, decision-making, social participation, and positional. "The several procedures for determining leaders did not converge on a single set of individuals. Top leaders according to one procedure were not necessarily the same as those indicated by another."³⁵

A less direct validation of influential reputations has been achieved by the researchers who examined the amount and intensity of the influentials' participation in local organizations. In Rovere, Merton notes that both types of influentials--locals and cosmopolitans--"are affiliated with more organizations than rank-and-file members of the population. Cosmopolitan influentials belong to an average of eight organizations per individual, and the local influentials, to an average of six."³⁶ Pellegrin and Coates found the modal number of memberships held in local organizations by the executives of Bigtown's absentee-owned corporations was only two, but in 90 percent of the cases, membership was held in at least one of the two most powerful organizations in the community, and 60 percent of the executives belonged to both top organizations. "These two [organizations] are policy- and decision-making bodies that play a vital role in charting the course of Bigtown's plans and projects."³⁷ In Cibola, Schulze and Blumberg's public leaders

³⁵Linton C. Freeman et al., op. cit., p. 796.

³⁶Merton, op. cit., p. 398.

³⁷R. J. Pellegrin and C. H. Coates, "~~Absentee-Owned~~ Corporations and Community Power Structure," American Journal of Sociology, 61 (1956), p. 416.

held a median number of nine memberships in local organizations; and every leader was a member of at least one of the three most prominent civic organizations. Furthermore, they found that 89 percent of the leaders had, at one time, served as president of at least one local voluntary association, and 61 percent had served as president of at least one of the five most influential organizations in the community. The study conducted by Barth and Abu-Laban showed the following:

One major differentiating characteristic of the top seven leaders is the high degree to which they participated with others in organizational committee activities. . . . This supports the contention of several of the respondents that "the top leaders in this community got there because they were very active in organizational work." The belief was expressed that if such activity ceased the top leadership position would quickly be lost.³⁸

Similarly, Vidich and Bensman comment:

When one reviews the organized public life of the community from the perspective of leadership, it is quickly apparent that this small number of individuals [four top leaders] occupies [six] a great many of the available positions. . . . One or more of these men sits on the board of almost every organization in town, from the cemetery association to the telephone company.³⁹

The fact that ~~some~~ studies have not sufficiently validated the reputational approach by comparing actual behavior with reputed behavior is more a shortcoming of their research design rather than of the reputational method per se. At least these criticisms do not warrant the discarding of the technique in favor of some alternative, but rather the objective should be "to find out under what conditions each technique provides the most fruitful approach and to eventually assimilate

³⁸Barth and Abu-Laban, op. cit., p. 74.

³⁹Arthur J. Vidich and Joseph Bensman, Small Town in Mass Society (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., Anchor Books, 1958), p. 264.

these techniques into a broader methodological scheme."⁴⁰

Limiting Size

Another difficulty encountered in the reputational technique involves selecting some cut-off point in order to limit the size of the group of leaders. Hunter selected an arbitrary number of 40, and then he apparently assumed what he set out to prove; that is, that leadership was concentrated in a small group of men.⁴¹ Wolfinger pointed out the inherent dilemma: if the researcher does not specify the number of influentials he wants the panel to name, then he is, in a sense, passing the problem on to the respondents, and he doesn't know whether they are giving the minimum or maximum number of names. And if the cut-off point is specified, then the problem is passed on to statistics and there is no way of knowing whether the established criterion corresponds to reality.⁴² Moreno has stated, on the other hand, that regardless of whether limits are previously set or not, there will still be a group of persons who are "over-chosen" and a group who are "under-chosen". He calls this the "sociodynamic effect" and says furthermore:

It might be anticipated that increasing the chance probability of being chosen by allowing more choices within the same size population and thus lessening the chance probability to remain unchosen will gradually bring the number of unchosen to a vanishing point and likewise reduce more and more the number of comparatively little chosen.

However, in actuality, this does not take place. Instead a persistent trend in the opposite direction is observed. The

⁴⁰William V. D'Antonio and Eugene C. Erickson, "The Reputational Technique as a Measure of Community Power," American Sociological Review, 27 (1962), p. 376.

⁴¹Hunter, op. cit.

⁴²Wolfinger, op. cit., p. 642.

further choices allowed go more frequently to the already highly chosen and not proportionally more to those who are unchosen or who have few choices. The quantity of isolates and little chosen comes finally to a standstill whereas the volume of choices continues to increase for those at the upper end of the range.⁴³

In these terms, limiting size need not be a problem at all to the researcher.

A related difficulty is that of "premature closure"; that is the possibility of the exclusion of some important influentials that should be included. Polsby feels that this problem is more critical for studies using the influentials themselves as the panel.⁴⁴ If the first few interviews produce the same list of influentials, then theoretically, the researcher may feel encouraged to go no farther and thus be likely to leave out some influentials that should be on the list. This criticism appears to be more hypothetical than empirical as it is hardly likely that a competent researcher would stop after just a few interviews.

The Distribution of Leadership

The four major critics of the reputational technique, Wolfinger, Polsby, Rossi, and Dahl, have all said that the reputational technique reports a static distribution of power, that is, it assumes that decision-makers remain the same from issue to issue. This involves the question of the reliability of the technique.

At least two studies have tested this, arriving at different conclusions. Olmsted used the reputational technique in a community, and

⁴³J. L. Moreno et al., The Sociometry Reader (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1960), p. 36.

⁴⁴Polsby, "Three Problems. . .," op. cit., p. 796.

then went back six years later to do it again.⁴⁵ Only a very small proportion of the first group of leaders were also in the second group. (Note, however, that although the persons themselves were very different, the social characteristics of the two groups were very much the same.)

D'Antonio and Erickson, studying six communities with a four year time interval in each, conclude:

Data indicate also that persons named as Key Influentials [sociometric leaders] at one time, tend to be named at a later time, regardless of the issues intervening. Therefore, it is concluded that influentials are influential for a reason [or in addition to a reason] other than mere salience of a problem facing a community at a given time.⁴⁶

Essentially, then, the problem remains unsolved, but it may not be critical depending on the major objectives of a study. That is, it concerns the decision of whether the major focus of the study is to be on the specific leaders themselves, or on general behavior patterns, social characteristics, and personalities, regardless of who the people are.

THE NATURE OF LEADERSHIP

General Versus Specific Roles

Something of a controversy exists between persons who believe in a 'generalized leadership role' and those who say that leadership roles are a function of a specific issue. Sharp criticism has been levelled at researchers who, in asking their panel to name leaders, do not specify

⁴⁵Donald Olmsted, "Organizational Leadership and Social Structure in a Small City," American Sociological Review, 19 (1954), pp. 273-281.

⁴⁶D'Antonio and Erickson, op. cit., p. 363.

the power scope within which the leader is influential. These researchers either assume that the power of the nominees is equal for all issues, or they say they are concerned with 'general power rankings' across issues, or with 'general community leadership'. Critics say, on the other hand, that these general power rankings are misleading as power varies from issue to issue. Instead, an alternative hypothesis is offered; "that American communities are made up of a number of segmented power structures; that people have limited scopes of influence, and that these scopes are narrowly restricted to the institutional sectors with which they most closely identify."⁴⁷ Dahl contends:

. . .I don't think that the typical American community is a monolithic but rather a pluralistic system. . . .I would contend that in most American communities there isn't a single center of power. There is even a sense in which nobody runs the community. In fact, perhaps this is the most distressing discovery of all: typically a community is run by many different people, in many different ways, at many different times.

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Moreover, no proposition about power or influence has much meaning unless one specifies power or influence with respect to something: power over public schools, over fund-raising, over redevelopment, over the local police, in the courts, or what?⁴⁸

Empirical studies show conflicting results with regard to the question of the validity of general power or general leadership roles. Some research has shown that leadership tends to be specialized (studies by Polsby, Agger, Fanelli and Bonjean); while others have indicated that the top influentials were not limited to a single sphere of influence

⁴⁷D'Antonio and Erickson, op. cit., p. 363.

⁴⁸Robert A. Dahl, "Equality and Power in American Society," in William V. D'Antonio and Howard J. Ehrlich (eds.), Power and Democracy in America (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1961), pp. 75-76.

(Merton, Stewart, D'Antonio and Erickson). Ehrlich feels that there is no reason why one cannot deal with a person's power across all issues. He says: "While I am not at all certain what such a general power ranking would yield, this is after all an empirical question. To dismiss such a consideration at this stage of our study of community power would be poor research strategy."⁴⁹

Polsby, on the other hand, points out one difficulty involved in not specifying community issues. In asking respondents a very general question about who are the influentials or leaders many alternative explanations may be plausible for the resulting list of persons. One interpretation is that the persons named lead or decide on all important community matters. But other alternatives might be:

Respondents (1) are naming the status elite; (2) have in mind some specific issue or issues which are A) of recent interest, B) especially salient to the respondent or, C) characteristic of the community--as public power might be in the West, or the race issue in the South; (3) are naming the community's old civic warhorses, or primarily letterhead names; (4) are naming the community's formal leadership; (5) are naming the most vocal leaders in the community.⁵⁰

Unidimensionality

The above leads us to the problem of unidimensionality. Does the question used to elicit names of leaders or influentials have the same meaning to all the respondents as well as to the researcher? Wolfinger suggests that:

The influence of the wording of questions on respondents' answers has long been a serious problem for public opinion researchers and others. Some of the reputational researchers seem not to have been too careful about the phrasing of their questions.⁵¹

⁴⁹Ehrlich, op. cit., p. 926. ⁵⁰Polsby, op. cit., p. 232.

⁵¹Wolfinger, op. cit., p. 639.

Here are some examples. Fanelli asked his respondents: "Now who would you say are the five people in Bakerville whose opinions on community affairs you respect most?"⁵² Form and D'Antonio asked for persons who were the "most influential and powerful."⁵³ Katz and Lazarsfeld asked their respondents: "Do you know anyone around here who keeps up with the news and whom you can trust to let you know what is really going on?"⁵⁴ And Agger asked: "Whom do you regard as the most influential persons as far as having a say or determining what decisions shall be made in regard to school matters? (Local government matters? Community welfare?)"⁵⁵ Miller had his respondents nominate "those persons who were most influential in actively supporting or initiating policy decisions which have the most effect on the community."⁵⁶ Bonjean asked: "Who are the community leaders who really get things done around here?"⁵⁷ Clearly there is extreme variation in the factors used in these questions.

The problem of unidimensionality is, of course, of concern to all of social science, and is especially a matter to be dealt with in using this reputational technique. One solution was offered by Harry Dick who suggested the use of Guttman scaling procedures. The technique is applicable, however, only to the specific community being studied, and the specific panel used by the researcher. Another way of handling the problem might be to simply ask the respondents to give their reasons for choosing the influentials they did. An analysis of the responses to this

⁵²Fanelli, op. cit., p. 333. ⁵³Form and D'Antonio, op. cit., p. 806.

⁵⁴Katz and Lazarsfeld, op. cit., p. 140. ⁵⁵Agger, op. cit., p. 324.

⁵⁶Miller, op. cit., p. 10. ⁵⁷Bonjean, op. cit., p. 673.

open-ended question would give the researcher an idea as to the meaning of the questions to the respondents.

TYPOLOGIES

Frequently researchers will make some distinctions between influentials on the basis of different criteria. Merton, for example, located "localites"--influentials whose major orientation was to the local community; and "cosmopolitans"--those who were mainly concerned with the non-local community (the larger society).⁵⁸ Several investigators have used typologies which distinguish top vote-getters from other influentials.⁵⁹ Thus, "top influentials" are persons with a large number of votes, while "key influentials" are the sociometric leaders of the "top influentials". Fanelli developed a typology in terms of influence and interaction within the influential subsystem.⁶⁰ "Active influentials" are recognized by the leaders themselves and the community at large as being very influential. They interact often with the other leaders. "Prestige influentials" are judged to be just as influential as the former, but there is less interaction with the leadership corps. "Active sub-influentials" have a low influence ranking as judged by the leaders, but they interact extensively with the rest of the leaders. And finally, "lesser leaders" are persons who are not ranked high by other leaders, and who have little interaction within the subsystem.

⁵⁸Merton, op. cit.

⁵⁹See, for example, Miller, op. cit.; D'Antonio and Erickson, op. cit., p. 367; Form and D'Antonio, op. cit., p. 807.

⁶⁰Fanelli, op. cit., pp. 335-337.

Similar to this typology is the one formulated by Bonjean.⁶¹

The first step in his analysis uncovered what may be called top leaders or influentials based on the rank-score system mentioned previously. Then in order to determine differentiations within this group of top leaders, he compared the leaders as perceived by one another with how they were perceived by the rest of the sample. He found three types of leaders; visible, concealed and symbolic (defined in Chapter I of this thesis). Bonjean's study was conducted in a city of 48,000 inhabitants, and the problem is whether it can be applied to other populations, particularly small towns. There is some evidence to indicate that it can. Agger conducted research in a community of 5,000 persons. He hypothesized that:

. . .local people would be fully aware of at least the most powerful individuals because the community was so small. The notion that in a small town everyone knows about everyone else's private life was accepted for the area of power or influence. . . but it seems that local consensus is far from the case.⁶²

A sociometric analysis of the leader sub-system (such as Bonjean's) is an important source of information; first on the different perceptions of the sample, and second on the way in which leadership is manifested. Gouldner said: "That leaders have important relations with other leaders, not merely with their followers, is a fact often neglected in the researches of social psychologists. Focus on the leadership corps, the groups' leaders treated as an entity, may also serve to highlight this crucial area."⁶³ Agger expected to find that the informal face-to-face relationships of the top leaders would constitute the most important channel for the exercise of influence, but indeed this did not turn out to be the case.

⁶¹Bonjean, op. cit., pp. 678-680. ⁶²Agger, op. cit., p. 331.

⁶³Alvin W. Gouldner (ed.), Studies in Leadership (New York: Harper & Bros., 1950), p. 45.

CHAPTER III

THEORY AND HYPOTHESES

The theoretical bases for the hypotheses tested in this thesis will be outlined in this chapter. Because much of the relevant discussion has been presented in the previous chapter, those aspects shall just be summarized here.

COMMUNITY

There is grave lack of consensus on the definition of the term community. Indeed, after an extensive review of the literature, Hillery found only two points upon which social scientists agreed.¹ First, all authors stated that "area" should be an element of community, and secondly, all definitions dealt with people. Sussman pointed out that the term community:

. . . is used quite indiscriminately in common usage to mean anything from a neighborhood to a "world community," and it may be used to refer to a number of persons with like interests such as the "educational community," "the sporting community," or a "community of values."²

Sussman synthesized some of the common elements found in other definitions of community into the following definition:

A community is a group integrated through a system of spatially contingent, interdependent biotic, cultural, and social relations and structures which have evolved in the process of mutual adjustment to environmental situations. It is a spatial group wherein

¹George A. Hillery, Jr., "Definitions of Community: Areas of Agreement," Rural Sociology, 20 (1955), pp. 194-204.

²Marvin B. Sussman (ed.), Community Structure and Analysis (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1959), p. 18.

the effects of interdependence and integration are made evident by the community's consciousness of unity and its ability to exercise adequate control over social, cultural, and biotic processes within its boundaries.³

Although this careful but complicated definition may have to suffice for the present, it is not easily operationalized. Furthermore, whatever community means, it would certainly include the small towns we have studied. Therefore, in this thesis, the word community simply refers to the small town. By rough rule of thumb, legally designated towns with populations of from a few hundred to five or six thousand can be called small towns.

THE NATURE OF COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP

Several different theories have been developed to explain the nature of community leadership. One theory implicitly denies the existence of a leadership structure as a whole entity, but rather sees leadership as varying from situation to situation, and changing from issue to issue.⁴ As an issue faces a community, one or more leaders will emerge who specialize in that field. In short, this theory depicts community leadership as consisting of an aggregate of specialist-leaders who do not necessarily act in concert. One author has referred to a

³Ibid., p. 20.

⁴See, for example, Robert A. Dahl, "Equality and Power in American Society," in William V. D'Antonio and Howard J. Ehrlich (eds.), Power and Democracy in America (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1961), pp. 73-89; Nelson W. Polsby, "Three Problems in the Analysis of Community Power," American Sociological Review, 24 (1959), pp. 796-803; and Raymond E. Wolfinger, "Reputation and Reality in the Study of Community Power," American Sociological Review, 25 (1960), pp. 636-644.

kaleidoscope effect with shifting issues and shifting personnel.⁵

Another theory indicates an opposite trend; with a relatively continuous leadership structure, and where the leaders tend to play more general roles.⁶

It may be that the first theory is more applicable to the large city where much of the leadership is imbedded in politics. Thus, as political personnel change, so leadership changes. Furthermore, the large city faces such a wide variety of issues, perhaps specialized leadership has developed which is more functional for the continued operation of the city.

This thesis is based on the second theory, and assumes that in the small community there is a phenomenon known as community leadership, and that it is a relatively continuous and organized entity. Furthermore, there is a group of leaders who tend to play general roles--to whom people will turn for guidance, advice, and so on, on a great variety of issues.

There are great variations in the way in which leadership has been defined in the literature. Such definitions are a function of the technique used to study leadership and the way in which a particular technique is carried out. Looking only at reputational studies, we

⁵Delbert C. Miller, "Decision-Making Cliques in Community Power Structures: A Comparative Study of an American and an English City," American Journal of Sociology, 64 (1958), p. 309.

⁶See H. J. Ehrlich, "The Reputational Approach to the Study of Community Power," American Sociological Review, 26 (1961), pp. 926-927; William V. D'Antonio and Eugene C. Erickson, "The Reputational Technique as a Measure of Community Power," American Sociological Review, 27 (1962), pp. 362-376; and Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1957), pp. 387-420.

found that researchers have asked many different questions in their operationalization of the term. Such concepts as 'influence', 'power', 'decision-making', 'important', 'respected', and 'trustworthy' are often used more or less synonymously with leader. Freeman and Mayo define leadership "as the process by which an individual influences a group of which he is a member, in the making of decisions."⁷ Agger concludes the following: "The terms power and influence are used synonymously because of the writer's preliminary empirical finding that people tend to use these concepts as identical or equivalent."⁸ Other authors distinguish between power and influence on the basis of the former implying the use or threat of use of sanctions in order to bring about changes in behavior or opinions, while influence brings about changes without such sanctions.⁹ D'Antonio and Ehrlich define power as the capacity or ability to control others. Its two major components are authority and influence, the former being a group phenomenon and the latter an individual phenomenon.¹⁰ Hunter offers the following explanation: "In our society, men of authority are called power and influence

⁷Charles Freeman and Selz C. Mayo, "Decision Makers in Rural Community Action," Social Forces, 35 (1957), p. 319.

⁸Robert E. Agger, "Power Attributes in the Local Community: Theoretical and Research Considerations," Social Forces, 34 (1956), p. 323.

⁹See, for example, Harold D. Lasswell and Abraham Kaplan, Power and Society, A Framework for Political Inquiry (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950), especially chapters IV and V; and Peter H. Rossi, "Community Decision Making," Administrative Science Quarterly, 1 (1957), pp. 415-443.

¹⁰D'Antonio and Ehrlich, op. cit., p. 132.

leaders."¹¹ Along the same lines, Hollander says: "The term leader is used so broadly that it is best to define our use of it at the outset. In general, leader denotes an individual with a status that permits him to exercise influence over certain other individuals."¹²

Gouldner has defined a leader as an individual who channels or structures the behavior of others because he is believed to be a legitimate source of stimuli.

The reasons why a leader's stimuli may be held as legitimate are varied. The leader might be viewed as being a person with unusual endowments; perhaps his stimuli are legitimated by virtue of the legal or traditional system of norms governing his appointment or election, perhaps because of his knowledge or expertise, or because he exemplifies other qualities valued by the group.

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Leadership is in this sense a role which an individual occupies at a given time in a given group. A leader is not a total personality, but a person who in certain situations emits legitimate group-patterning stimuli. Clearly, the same individual can be both follower and leader in two different "segments" of his life, or in the same segment at different times.¹³

It is evident that there is considerable conceptual confusion prevalent in the current literature. One of the objectives of this thesis is to attempt to clarify this problem. To be more specific, four factors appear to be most commonly used in research questions: whether a person has influence; whether he makes community decisions; whether he gets things done in the community; and whether his opinions carry weight.

¹¹Floyd Hunter, Community Power Structure (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1953), p. 2.

¹²E. P. Hollander, "Emergent Leadership and Social Influence," in Luigi Petrullo and Bernard M. Bass (eds.), Leadership and Interpersonal Behavior (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1961), p. 30.

¹³Alvin W. Gouldner (ed.), Studies in Leadership (New York: Harper & Bros., 1950), p. 20.

HYPOTHESIS I: The ranking of persons who have been named in response to the general question of influence will be the same as their ranking for making decisions, getting things done, and opinions carrying weight. The hypothesis rests on the assumption that it is legitimate for researchers to use each of these factors in question form and then state that they are all studying the same things. If the hypothesis is accepted then it is probable that if each factor was used independently in question form the same list of persons would emerge. Acceptance or rejection of the hypothesis is based upon observation of variations between different sets of rankings. Acceptance is contingent upon identical or near identical rank orders.

To avoid confusion the persons in this study who have been identified by the reputational technique will be referred to as influentials.

TYPOLOGIES

It is the contention of some authors that a sociometric analysis of the leadership subsystem is an important part of the study of leadership. Criswell says:

Sociometric research indicates that the position of the leader in the preference structure of a group must be a part of the analysis of leadership acts or roles. The roots of effective leadership lie remotely in the intimate personal relations of group members and more immediately in relatively impersonal group-oriented social relations shared by all members. The support thus afforded the leader is a source of power for him and of need satisfaction for himself and followers.¹⁴

¹⁴Joan H. Criswell, "The Sociometric Study of Leadership," in Petrullo and Bass (eds.), op. cit., p. 27.

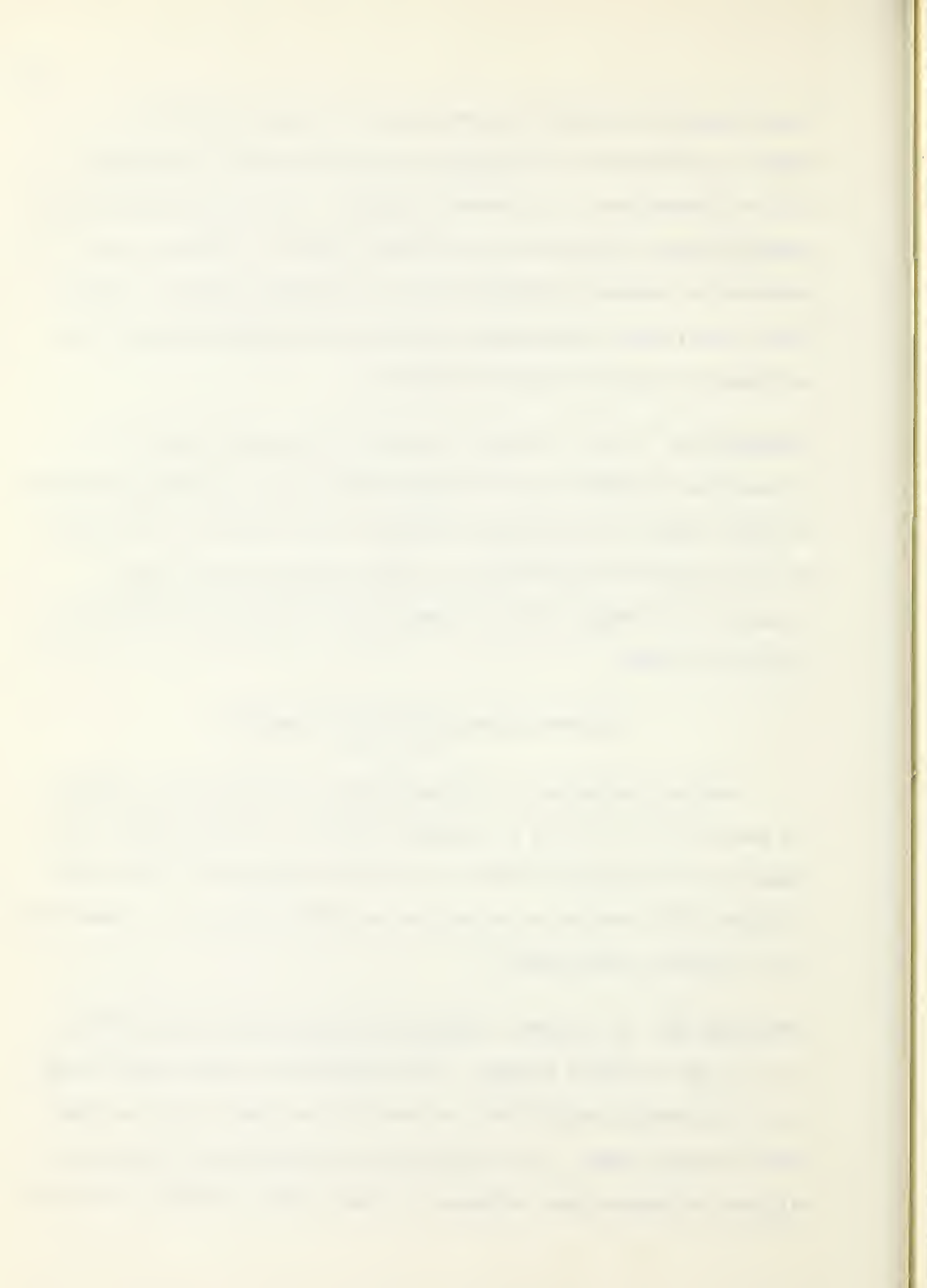
One such analysis involves the perceptions of those identified as leaders themselves as to who they think are the leaders, as compared with the perceptions of non-leader informants. This establishes a system whereby one can distinguish three different types of leaders; those perceived by everyone (visible); those given higher ranking by leaders than by non-leaders (concealed); and those given higher ranking by the non-leaders than by the leaders (symbolic).

HYPOTHESIS II: Even in the small community, influentials will be differentially visible to such an extent that one can discriminate between different types of influentials according to their degree of visibility. We shall accept this hypothesis if, using an arbitrary but strict standard, we are able to discern some cases of each type in each of the four towns studied.

THE REPUTATIONAL AND FORMAL TECHNIQUES

Various limitations in the reputational technique have suggested the desirability of using an alternate method to identify leaders and comparing the two sets of results. One such alternative is the formal technique which involves selecting the top office-holders in a community's local voluntary associations.

HYPOTHESIS III: In the small community the reputational influentials will also be the formal leaders. The hypothesis will be accepted if all of the top ranking reputational influentials are shown to also be high ranking formal leaders. The standard is set so high due to the need to validate the reputational technique. A high degree of overlap, but less



than 100 percent, would mean partial acceptance at best.

This hypothesis is based on the assumption of the functional significance of voluntary associations in a community as a channel through which leadership may be expressed; and the fact that leaders identified by other techniques have been found to be very active in organizations (particularly by holding offices). Some studies using both the formal and reputational techniques have found considerable overlap. Freeman and Mayo's research (discussed in the previous chapter) is one example. Laskin, in a town of 2,700 persons, located all of the office-holders in the local voluntary groups, and compared this with a list of persons obtained through a reputational technique. He found that among the persons named by the panel were all of the top formal officers.¹⁵ (His panelists, however, were almost all office-holders themselves.) Stewart, on the other hand, found only a 50 percent overlap in the two approaches.¹⁶ Bell, Hill and Wright have suggested that the persons identified by these two techniques may not be the same, depending, for one thing, on the nature of the community. "Yet the degree of correspondence between the several descriptions of community leadership obtained through different methods is a matter of both theoretical and practical interest."¹⁷

¹⁵Richard Laskin, Leadership of Voluntary Organizations in a Saskatchewan Town (Saskatoon: Centre for Community Studies, 1962).

¹⁶Frank Stewart, "A Sociometric Study of Influence in Southtown," Sociometry, 10 (1947), pp. 11-31 and 273-286.

¹⁷W. Bell, R. J. Hill, and C. R. Wright, Public Leadership (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1961), p. 19.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

GENERAL RESEARCH PROCEDURE

The research was conducted during the summer of 1963 in four Saskatchewan towns. Two basic data collection techniques were used. One involved structured interviews concerning local influentials, the second the collection of information about the current office-holding situation in the voluntary associations in each community. Five persons were involved in this field work.¹ The data were analyzed by the author using the facilities of IBM machinery were feasible.

SELECTION OF TOWNS FOR STUDY

There were three main factors bearing upon the selection of study sites. The primary factor was the extent to which the communities were representative, or at least not too dissimilar from other towns in Saskatchewan. In addition it was desirable that the towns be of varied sizes, and that they be fairly accessible from the Centre for Community Studies offices located in Saskatoon.

The four communities were finally selected and have been assigned the fictional names of Sondaris, Hollobreks, Westnoor and Fretolm, and their approximate populations are 500-600, 1,000-1,100, 2,500-3,000, and 4,000-4,500 respectively. These sizes are approximate because the

¹Including Dr. Richard Laskin, director of the research, three trained interviewers from the Centre for Community Studies, and the author.

demographic data for the towns is based on the 1961 census and there has been some growth in each community since that time. Furthermore, it is desirable to try to keep the actual town sites anonymous.

Table 1 in Appendix A lists the age distributions of the four towns and the Province of Saskatchewan. Divided into four broad age categories there are no extreme differences although there are a disproportionate number of persons in the older age group (65 years and over) in two of the towns. Aside from this variation, the age characteristics of the four towns closely resemble each other and the Province.

The distribution of religious preferences in the four communities and the Province is illustrated in Table 2 of Appendix A. Sondaris, the smallest town, displays characteristics most like the Province, while the other three towns show some variations. Hollobreks has a relatively high proportion of Anglicans and a low proportion of Roman Catholics. In Westnoor and Fretolm the United Church accounts for a greater percentage of the population than in the Province and in the other two communities.

THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

The interview schedule was designed to locate the reputational influentials in the four towns. (A copy of the interview is included in Appendix B.) The interviewing in each town began by asking the mayor, town clerk, or some other presumably influential person the following question: "Who, in your opinion, are the persons in (NAME OF TOWN) who have the most influence in the community? Please just list the names as they come to you, and don't hesitate to name yourself if you feel that you should." After the respondent had completed his list, he was then

asked to rank-order the names in terms of his perception of their influence. There was no limitation made as to the number of names that each respondent could list. It was felt that by setting such a limit some respondents might feel compelled to list more persons than they ordinarily would, while others might exclude persons they otherwise would have named.

Using the first interview as the starting point, identical interviews were then conducted with the top ten ranked individuals listed. Then the top ten ranked persons on these lists were interviewed, and so on. This process continued until few new names were added (that is, names of persons who had not already been interviewed), or at least until it was felt that there was a considerable amount of consensus among the respondents as to whom they regarded as being influential. It was also desirable to have as large a panel as possible for the purposes of analysis.

After the respondents rank-ordered the influentials they had named, they were asked to give the reasons for their choices and then to rate each person by checking "yes", "some", or "no" as to whether he "makes community decisions," "gets things done in the community," and whether his "opinions carry weight."

COLLECTION OF OFFICE-HOLDING DATA

A fairly complete list of all the voluntary organizations and the persons who held offices during the winter of 1963 was compiled for each community. This information was obtained from two sources: first the local banks furnished the names of the organizations and officers that

had accounts; and second, each person who was a respondent for the structured interview was asked to list his memberships and offices as well as all other organizations and officers that he knew of. (See page 3 of the interview in Appendix B.)

For the purposes of this research, a voluntary organization has been defined as "any private group, voluntarily and more or less formally organized, joined and maintained by members pursuing a common interest, usually by means of part-time, unpaid activities."² This definition distinguishes voluntary organizations from business groups, where people make a living; from informal friendship groups which are voluntary but not formally organized; and from groups into which people are born, like the family, state, and church. There are some organizations which really do not fit the above definition, but which are included in this study by virtue of their functions. The Town Council is the best example of such a group.

ANALYSIS OF REPUTATIONAL DATA

Upon completion of the final interview, the total number of mentions or votes each person received was tabulated and this was used as the index for selecting the reputational influentials in each community. A somewhat broader discussion and justification of this index will be dealt with in the next chapter.

With regard to the three qualities--decision-making, getting things done, and opinions carrying weight--a scoring system was developed

²Richard Laskin, Organizations in a Saskatchewan Town (Saskatoon: Centre for Community Studies, 1961), p. 4.

which awarded each influential two points for every "yes" answer he received in each of the three qualities; one point for every "some" answer; and no points for a "no" response. The total number of points an influential received were accumulated separately for each quality. In order to compare the influentials with one another, we had to control for the fact that their scores depended upon the total number of mentions they received. Persons with many mentions were bound to have more points than persons with just a few mentions. So we calculated the proportion of points each influential received out of the maximum he could theoretically receive. For example, a person who received 15 mentions could theoretically have a score of 30 points on each quality. If his actual score on one was 20 points, then he received only 67 percent of his maximum.

ANALYSIS OF THE OFFICE-HOLDING DATA

The analysis of the office-holding data is based on a scoring system developed in a previous study which was sponsored by the Centre for Community Studies.³ The system involves awarded 'leadership points' to every person holding one or more offices in local organizations. The index is shown in Table 4:1. In establishing this scoring system it was considered that two factors were important: the type of organization and the type of office or position within the organization. The four columns across the top of Table 4:1 represent four different levels of officer-ship importance. The horizontal rows list three different types of

³Richard Laskin, Leadership of Voluntary Organizations in a Saskatchewan Town (Saskatoon: Centre for Community Studies, 1962).

TABLE 4:1. SCORES ASSIGNED FOR OFFICES IN DIFFERENT TYPES OF ORGANIZATIONS

Type of Organization ^a	Chairman, President, or Head	Vice-President, Secretary, or Treasurer	Other Executive Offices	Minor Offices (Convenors, etc.)
1. Organizations with important effects on non-members	6	5	4	3
2. Organizations with moderate effects on non-members	5	4	3	2
3. Organizations with little or no effect on non-members	4	3	2	1

^aExamples: (1) Recreation Committee, Board of Trade, School Board
 (2) Community-Service, Professional and Labour Associations.
 (3) Athletic clubs.

associations, based essentially upon the degree to which decisions of the officers might be expected to affect persons or groups outside of the organization itself. The numbers in the table represent the points awarded a person holding a given office in a specific organization. The accumulated number of points 'earned' is the 'formal leadership score'. It should be noted that this scoring system is not intended as a precise scaling instrument. A score of 12 points does not indicate twice the leadership importance of a score of six, but it does indicate some higher degree of leadership.

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Reputational Technique

Some difficulty was encountered in knowing when to stop interviewing. One clue was offered by Bonjean who said he continued interviewing "until new lists yielded many more duplications than nominations."⁴ If this procedure had been followed literally in our research, we would have stopped interviewing after the first few interviews. Although almost every interview gave the same basic list of influentials, there were still new names being added. Using our own judgment, we stopped interviewing when we felt that we had a sufficient number of respondents, and that they were agreeing on most of the names of the influentials.

Another problem arose in not specifying the number of persons to be named by the respondents. On the one hand it was felt that this system was desirable, but it did present certain difficulties in analysis. In trying to develop a scoring system based on the ranks of the influentials an arbitrary but meaningful cut-off point eventually had to be determined.

No statistical tests of significance were used in this study because it was felt that the data did not quite meet the requirements of either parametric or non-parametric statistics. Hypotheses, as was noted above, have been accepted or rejected on the basis of observation on the data in terms of specified standards for acceptance.

⁴Charles M. Bonjean, "Community Leadership: A Case Study and Conceptual Refinement," American Journal of Sociology, 68 (1963), p. 674.

Formal Technique

More problems were encountered in the use of the formal technique than in the reputational technique. The study focused on officers who held their positions during the winter of 1963 in order to exclude persons who were newly elected. (Organizations hold their elections at different times of the year.) Thus, there was some disagreement among the respondents as to who held the offices during this period, particularly if a new election had recently taken place. Furthermore, by only getting the winter, 1963 officers, we may have excluded some very active persons who just happened to have dropped some of their offices during this period for health or other reasons. This led to the conclusion that it would have been desirable to have a list of all officers during a longer period of time; perhaps two or three years. However, while this may have added to the validity of the results, it would also have been very time-consuming and has the disadvantage of having to rely to an even greater extent on respondents' memories.

Another limitation of the formal technique was the absence of information about the activities of the organizations in the four towns, and therefore the difficulty involved in attempting to classify them according to their importance. It may be that an organization in one town is very important, while the same one (that is, a branch of the same group, for example Elks or Masons) may be relatively inconsequential in another community.

CHAPTER V

RESULTS OF THE REPUTATIONAL TECHNIQUE

NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS

The first interviews in each community were conducted, respectively, with the mayor of Sondaris, the newspaper editors in Hollobreks and Fretolm, and the town secretary of Westnoor. Following the research procedure of interviewing the top 10 ranked persons on each list of influentials obtained, a total of 29 persons were interviewed in Hollobreks, 50 persons in Westnoor, and 48 persons in Fretolm. In Sondaris, which was the first community to be studied, only the top five persons on each list were interviewed, yielding a total of 17 interviews. This criterion was altered for the other three communities as it was believed that the number of potential interviews provided by this method was too small. In this sense Sondaris served as a 'pre-test' town for the entire study.

NUMBER OF PERSONS NAMED

In Sondaris the respondents made a total of 165 choices for an average of 9.7 per respondent. In Hollobreks this number was 329 for an average of 11.3 choices per person. A total of 598 responses were made in Westnoor, which is an average of 12.0 per person. And finally, in Fretolm, the respondents made 586 choices, an average of 12.2 per person.

Table 5:1 shows the total number of persons named in each community using all the choices that the respondents made; using just those choices

that were ranked within the top 10; and using those persons who were ranked within the top five. The number of interviews done in each community turns out to be very similar to the number of persons who received at least a top five ranking. In Hollobreks 22 of the 27 persons with top five rankings were interviewed; in Westnoor 36 of the 56 persons with top five rankings were interviewed; and in Fretolm 37 of the 49 such persons were interviewed. This is evidence that our panels of informants in each town were, for the most part, composed of persons who had more than just a small reputation for influence themselves.

TABLE 5:1. NUMBER OF PERSONS NAMED IN EACH COMMUNITY

	Sondaris	Hollobreks	Westnoor	Fretolm
Total number of persons named . . .	48	53	128	119
Number of persons with at least one top ten ranking . .	36	38	92	75
Number of persons with at lease one top five ranking .	19	27	56	49

Table 5:1 also shows that by allowing the respondent an unlimited number of choices (as compared with asking him for just five or ten names), the list of potential influentials is broadened. In Fretolm, for example, 44 persons would probably not have been named at all if the interview had asked the respondent for just ten names, and 70 persons would have been excluded if only five names were called for.

SELECTION OF INFLUENTIALS

With all of the persons named in each town, certain criteria had to be established for selecting top influentials. Previous researchers have used one of two general approaches to the selection of top influentials. One is based on frequency of nomination, the other on average ranking. Four variations of these were compared in this study. The first is founded on the total number of mentions received; the second on the number of mentions received that were rated between one and ten; the third on the number of top five mentions; and the last is based on the average rank-order score received by each individual named. Table 5:2 illustrates the number of influentials identified by using these four standards.

TABLE 5:2. NUMBER OF INFLUENTIALS IN EACH COMMUNITY USING FOUR DIFFERENT STANDARDS OF SELECTION

Standards	Sondaris	Hollobreks	Westnoor	Fretolm
Total Number of Mentions	15	25	32	35
Top Ten Mentions	17	19	27	30
Top Five Mentions	13	19	20	23
Rank-Order Score	5	7	10	11

In using the total number of mentions technique, the following cut-off points were set for each community: in Sondaris and Hollobreks, a total of four or more mentions were needed in order to qualify as an influential; in Westnoor and Fretolm five or more mentions were required. By these standards 15 influentials were identified in Sondaris, 25 in Hollobreks, and so on, as shown in the first row of Table 5:2.

With number of top ten mentions as the standard, the cut-off points had to be altered, so that in Sondaris and Hollobreks a person had to have at least three top ten mentions to be an influential, and in Westnoor and Fretolm the criterion was at least four such mentions. The second row of the table indicates the number of influentials selected using this system. How much overlap is there between the top ten system and the total mentions system? In Sondaris the top ten system identified 15 of the same persons as the total mentions technique, but added two others as well. In Hollobreks six of the total mentions influentials were lost when the top ten system was employed, in Westnoor there was a loss of five, and in Fretolm a loss of five. All of the influentials identified in these three communities by the top ten system were also included in the total mentions system.

Thus, in three of the four communities, the total mentions standard for selection of influentials yielded a larger cohort of persons than the top ten standard. It should be noted, however, that none of the influentials on the first list who were not in the second group were ranked very high. For example, in Hollobreks we found 25 influentials using total mentions as the standard, and 19 influentials using the top ten mentions as the standard. Subtracting the 19 from the 25, there is a difference of six persons using the first standard. But none of these six persons were ranked higher than 19th by the total mentions system. The situation is similar for the other towns.

The third system of selecting influentials--top five mentions--produced a smaller number than the first two systems, even though a criterion of only two or more top five mentions was set in Sondaris and

Hollobreks, and three or more in Westnoor and Fretolm. Thirteen such influentials were found in Sondaris, 12 of whom were the same as those on the total mentions list. In Hollobreks, 19 influentials were chosen, 18 of whom were in the first group. In Westnoor, all 20 of the persons selected by the top five standard were on the total mentions list. And finally, in Fretolm, 22 of the 23 influentials found by the top five method were among those listed by the total mentions system.

As we found when we compared the first two systems of selecting influentials, all of the persons who were not on the top five mentions list but who were on the total mentions list are relatively low ranking. Similarly, those few influentials who were added when using the top five method were low ranking.

The fourth system we examined, that of rank-order score, was constructed in the following way. Each individual received a score of ten points for each first-place vote he received, nine points for every second-place vote, eight points for each third-place vote, and so on for the first 10 ranked names on each list. The points were accumulated into a single rank-order score for every person nominated. Then, according to the distribution of scores, arbitrary cut-off points were made for each community. Those with scores above the cut-off point were called the influentials. In Sondaris a total of five persons received a score of between 131 and 70 points, the next highest score being 38. In Hollobreks seven persons scored between 234 and 70 points, and the next highest was 51 points. Ten influentials in Westnoor achieved between 300 and 60 points, the next highest being 56. And finally, in Fretolm, 11 persons got from 225 to 79 points, and the rest were under 66 points. It is

believed that these divisions demonstrate the significance of the data most meaningfully for each community.

It appears that the rank-order scoring system is even more restricting, in terms of the number of influentials identified, than any of the other three methods. All of the influentials identified by this system were included in the other lists, and furthermore, they were all high-ranking influentials on the other three lists.

EVALUATION OF SYSTEMS FOR SELECTING INFLUENTIALS

The problem of setting a standard for selection of influentials "is that of finding an efficient yet readily accessible indicant which can be used as a measure of influence in the absence of a more direct assessment of influence itself."¹ Using the total number of mentions received by an individual, which is the result of allowing the respondents to list as many names as they want, allows the researcher to identify more influentials than by restricting the number of responses to five or to ten, or using a rank-order scoring system (which actually restricts the number of responses too). Even though many of the additional persons are not very high ranking, some of them should not be overlooked by the researcher. For example, in Fretolm, S.W. got 15 total mentions, 13 top ten mentions, only three top five mentions, and just 54 rank-order points. If the respondents had been asked to name only five persons, the researcher would probably not consider S.W. to be an

¹John M. Foskett and Raymond Hohle, "The Measurement of Influence in Community Affairs," Research Studies of the State College of Washington, June, 1957, p. 148.

influential, and using rank-order points, he does not qualify at all. Similarly P.M. in Westnoor received 13 total mentions, seven top ten mentions, and just two top five votes. If the standard had been set at five mentions, this person would have been overlooked. He only scored 29 rank-order points, and so by this standard too would not be considered as an influential.

These findings suggest that if the researcher was primarily interested in top levels of influence, then limiting the number of possible mentions to ten or five is probably sufficient, because, as the sociodynamic effect shows, the researcher does not increase the probability of underchosen people becoming overchosen by increasing the number of allowable votes. Generally the persons who ranked very high (top sixth or seventh) in total mentions, were ranked about the same in top ten and top five mentions. But, allowing more choices does increase the probability that some underchosen (or secondary level) influentials will be seen at all by the researcher. For these reasons it was decided to use the total number of mentions an individual received as the criterion for selecting the influentials in this study. Thus, the number of influentials located in each community corresponds to the first row in Table 5:2; 15 in Sondaris; 25 in Hollobreks; 32 in Westnoor; and 35 in Fretolm; of whom we were able to interview 14, 24, 26 and 33 respectively.

SOME SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE INFLUENTIALS

Table 5:3 divides the influentials in each of the four towns in terms of five relevant social variables; sex, age, length of residence, occupation and number of memberships in local voluntary groups.

TABLE 5:3. SOME SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF INFLUENTIALS

Characteristics	Sondaris	Hollobreks	Westnoor	Fretolm	Total
<u>Sex--</u> Male	14	24	23	32	93
Female	0	0	3	1	4
Total	14	24	26	33	97
<u>Age--</u> Under 25 years	0	0	0	0	0
26 - 35	1	3	0	4	8
36 - 45	6	8	8	10	32
46 - 55	4	6	11	10	31
56 - 65	2	4	3	7	16
66 - 75	1	3	1	1	6
76 and over	0	0	3	1	4
Total	14	24	26	33	97
<u>Length of Residence</u>					
Less than 5 years	3	1	2	4	10
5 - 9 years	2	2	2	5	11
10 - 19 years	2	7	5	11	25
20 years	7	14	17	13	51
Total	14	24	26	33	97
<u>Occupation of Household Head</u>					
Professional, Proprietary or Managerial	10	22	22	27	81
Farmer	2	2	4	5	13
Skilled	2	0	0	0	2
Other	0	0	0	1	1
Total	14	24	26	33	97
<u>Occupation of Respondent</u> (if not household head)					
Not applicable	14	24	23	32	93
Clerical	0	0	1	0	1
Housewife	0	0	2	1	3
Total	14	24	26	33	97
<u>Number of Memberships in</u> <u>Local voluntary groups</u>					
None	0	0	0	0	0
One	0	0	2	0	2
Two	2	4	2	0	8
Three	2	2	3	2	9
Four	2	1	2	3	8
Five	0	4	6	6	16
Six	4	4	2	5	15
Seven	3	3	4	5	15
Eight	0	2	2	4	8
Nine	1	1	1	3	6
Ten	0	2	0	4	6
Eleven	0	1	2	1	4
Total	14	24	26	33	97

It is interesting to note that very few of the influentials are females. In the two smallest towns we found no female influentials; in Westnoor three; and in Fretolm only one. From this data it would seem that women do not play a direct role in community influence systems, or at least they do not tend to gain reputations for their influence.

With regard to age, we found that the majority of influentials in the four towns were between the ages of 36 and 65. This age group accounted for 86 percent of the influentials in Sondaris, 75 percent in Hollobreks, 85 percent in Westnoor, and 81 percent in Fretolm. There were a few influentials under 36 years of age (eight in the four towns combined), none under 25, and 10 who were over 65.

Most of the influentials had lived in their communities for at least ten years. In fact, in three of the four towns, the majority of influentials had resided there for 20 or more years. But in all the towns there were some influentials who were relative newcomers, that is, who had lived in their respective communities for less than five years.

A very large proportion of the male influentials in each community (and the husbands of the female influentials) were either professionals, proprietors, or managers. This occupational category includes 71 percent of the influentials in Sondaris, 92 percent in Hollobreks, 85 percent in Westnoor and 82 percent in Fretolm. The next most frequent occupation listed was farming, and none of these influentials appeared to be "poor" farmers. Of the four female influentials, one was secretary to an important professional man, and three were housewives. These latter three included one lawyer's wife (who herself did part-time work for an insurance company), the wife of a newspaper editor and the wife of a

prominent business man. The latter two were both involved in teaching and directing music and local musical activities.

None of the influentials in the four communities reported holding no memberships in local voluntary associations, and only two reported one membership. The remaining influentials held from two to 11 memberships each. In Sondaris, the average number of memberships held per influential was 5.1; in Hollobreks the average was 5.8; in Westnoor 5.4; and in Fretolm 6.8.

REASONS FOR BEING CHOSEN

When the respondents were asked to list the reasons for their choice of influentials, four types of response dominated.

1. The occupations of the nominees were considered to be important, including whether or not the named person was particularly successful or wealthy.

2. The fact that the nominee was perceived as very active in community projects and organizations was a very important factor in being chosen. Many influentials were named because of specific positions they held or specific projects they had worked on or promoted.

3. Whether or not the nominee was serving or had served on the Town Council.

4. The presence of some specific personality characteristic was another vital reason for being chosen as an influential. Noted were such traits as being aggressive, honest, unselfish, capable, or shrewd.

The respondents also gave some other reasons for nominating certain influentials, for example, being an old-timer in the community, a "solid

citizen", a good public speaker, or a "community-minded" man.

CHAPTER VI

CONCEPTS

In Chapter IV it was pointed out that the panels in each community were asked to rate their nominees on three "qualities". These are:

1. Making community decisions.
2. Getting things done in the community.
3. Having one's opinions carry weight.

The results of the ratings will be discussed in this and subsequent chapters. For convenience, we will hereafter refer to these qualities as C.D., T.D., and O.W. respectively. In this chapter the qualities are first analyzed from the perspective of the panel. That is, how did the panelists perceive these three qualities in relation to each other and to influence generally? Secondly, the qualities are analyzed in terms of the influentials. What was the distribution of their percentage scores for each quality? And how do the rankings of the influentials on the three qualities compare to their ranking on influence?

TOTAL RESPONSES OF THE PANEL

In order to get a full view of the way in which the panelists perceived the three qualities it is necessary to examine all their choices, regardless for whom the choices were (that is, for influentials or non-influentials as defined by this study). Table 6:1 indicates the way in which the four town panels responded to the three qualities in terms of the proportions of "yes", "some", and "no" answers given for each

TABLE 6:1. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTIONS OF THE TOTAL RESPONSES MADE FOR THE THREE QUALITIES

Qualities	Sondaris	Hollobreks	Westnoor	Fretolm
Community Decision Maker (C.D.)				
Yes	50	57	52	61
Some	32	28	36	29
No	18	15	13	11
Total: Percent	100	100	101	101
N	158 ^a	331	550	578
Gets Things Done (T.D.)				
Yes	58	63	59	71
Some	32	28	34	26
No	10	9	6	4
Total: Percent	100	100	99	101
N	165	331	548 ^b	578
Opinions Carry Weight (O.W.)				
Yes	66	69	63	70
Some	27	25	33	28
No	6	6	4	2
Total: Percent	99	100	100	100
N	161 ^c	331	550	578

^aExcludes 7 "don't know" responses and no answers.

^bExcludes 2 "don't know" responses and no answers.

^cExcludes 4 "don't know" responses and no answers.

quality. For example, of the 578 total choices made by the panel in Fretolm, 61 percent included a "yes" response for community decision making (C.D.), 29 percent included a "some" response for this quality, and 11 percent responded "no" regarding the nominees' decision making power. With regard to getting things done (T.D.), 71 percent of the total choices included a "yes", 26 percent "some", and four percent "no". And regarding opinions carrying weight (O.W.), 66 percent were "yes" responses, 27 percent "some" and six percent "no".

The percentages listed in Table 6:1 show a general increase in "yes" responses and a corresponding decrease in "no" responses as we go from C.D. to T.D. to O.W. This pattern is repeated in all four towns with only minor variations. The data suggest that the persons nominated as influential by the panel tended to be those who the panelists would rate as 'opinion leaders' rather than 'decision makers' or 'community workers'.

SCORES OF THE INFLUENTIALS

As noted in Chapter IV, the influentials were given a score on each quality equal to the proportion of the maximum scores possible for them. The more frequently a person was nominated, the higher his maximum score. The distributions of these scores are given in Tables 6:2 and 6:3. Table 6:2 lists the median percentage scores earned by the influentials in the four towns for each of the three qualities.

TABLE 6:2. MEDIAN PERCENTAGE SCORES ON THE THREE QUALITIES

Qualities	Sondaris (N=15)	Hollobreks (N=25)	Westnoor (N=32)	Fretolm (N=35)
Community Decision Maker	69	75	70	79
Gets things done	73	82	73	86
Opinions Carry Weight	84	83	81	90

This table shows that the median percentage scores for O.W. were higher than the other two qualities and that there is a continuous increase in the median scores from C.D. to T.D. to O.W. That is, influentials were

more likely to reach their total possible scores for O.W. than for the other two qualities.

The total distribution of percentage scores demonstrates this point even more clearly. Table 6:3 shows the proportion of influentials who got over 90 percent of their maximum scores, those who got between 70 and 89 percent, and those under 69 percent for each of the three qualities. We can easily see the increase in the proportion of influentials who received 90 percent or more of their possible maximum scores as we go from C.D. to T.D. to O.W., and a corresponding decrease in the proportion of influentials who got 69 percent or less.

TABLE 6:3. PROPORTION OF INFLUENTIALS IN EACH PERCENTAGE SCORE CATEGORY

Qualities	Sondaris (N=15)			Hollobreks (N=25)			Westnoor (N=32)			Fretolm (N=35)		
	H	M	L	H	M	L	H	M	L	H	M	L
C.D.	0	47	53	8	48	44	6	47	47	23	49	29
T.D.	20	40	40	24	44	32	13	59	28	43	54	3
O.W.	33	53	13	40	36	24	28	66	6	51	40	9

Key: 'H' indicates a 'high' score (90 percent or more).
'M' indicates a 'medium' score (70 to 89 percent).
'L' indicates a 'low' score (under 70 percent).

DIFFERENCES IN RANKINGS

We are interested in knowing the similarities and differences between the ranking of persons in terms of influence (according to total number of mentions received) and in terms of each of the other three qualities (according to the percentage scores). The number of influentials who moved up in rank by at least one-third of the total number of

ranks and the number who moved down in rank by at least one-third was tabulated by comparing influence ranking to each of the other three rankings. Table 6:4 shows the variations between these sets of rankings. In Fretolm, for example, five persons moved up (by one-third) from their rank position on influence to their position on C.D., and four persons moved down. Taking the four towns together, there were a total of 33 rank variations (up and down) for C.D., 35 for T.D., and 43 for O.W.

TABLE 6:4. VARIATIONS IN RANKING^a BETWEEN INFLUENCE AND C.D., T.D., AND O.W.

	Sondaris (N=15)	Hollobreks (N=25)	Westnoor (N=32)	Fretolm (N=35)	Total (N=107)
<u>Community Decision Maker</u>					
Higher ranking	2	4	9	5	20
Lower ranking	1	3	5	4	13
<u>Gets Things Done</u>					
Higher ranking	3	3	3	8	17
Lower ranking	2	5	4	7	18
<u>Opinions Carry Weight</u>					
Higher ranking	4	3	8	6	21
Lower ranking	4	6	5	7	22

^aA 'variation in ranking' is defined as a movement of at least one-third of the total ranking scale.

DISCUSSION

Table 6:4 shows that there are sufficient variation in rankings to question the relationship between the three qualities and influence. On this basis, the hypothesis being tested must be rejected; identical rank-orders are not achieved. This suggests that if any of the three qualities had been used in question form, a markedly different rank-order of persons

would result, and possibly a somewhat different list of persons. Looking back at Table 6:3 we might suppose that those persons who earned under 69 percent of their maximum scores (and particularly those who received under 50 percent) would not be named very often should any one of the qualities be used as the sole criteria for nominations.

There is some evidence to suggest that among the three qualities, O.W. is the most similar to general influence. The panelists gave a larger proportion of "yes" responses to O.W. and the influentials earned higher percentage scores for O.W. than for the other qualities. That is, it appears that when asked to nominate 'community influentials' the panelists seem to have favoured persons whose opinions they feel carry weight in the community. If the 'basic' question had stipulated decision makers or persons who get things done, many of the influentials who were nominated in our study would have been left off the lists.

We notice, however, that there were more rank variations for O.W. than for the other qualities. How can we account for these apparent incongruities? These three qualities represent a continuum of action-- from persons who are thought to actually make important decisions, to those who are community workers, to those who are merely opinion changers (and including combinations of the three). The first two qualities are more specific and empirical, while the latter is more diffuse. In any single community, there may be only a few persons who could be regarded as decision-makers, a few more who are real workers, but many whose opinions are considered to be important. Thus the panel was more willing to rate nearly everyone, including C.D.'s and T.D.'s, on O.W. but they were less liberal in rating persons basically selected for O.W. on the other two

qualities. It is likely that almost everyone who got a C.D. and a T.D. rating also got an O.W. rating, but not the converse. This may explain the larger variations in rank between O.W. and influence. A person with just a few influence mentions (that is, a low ranking person) may have earned close to his maximum score on O.W., but at the same time he was ranked very low on C.D. and T.D.

It appears that all of the three qualities have some relationship to influence and to each other. Further research should explore these relationships. For example, an investigator might use four matched panels in one community and have one panel name influentials, another name decision-makers, another community workers, and another opinion advisors. This study would determine the nature of the relationships between the variables. There are arguments to be made both for and against the use of one general question soliciting names of influentials or leaders. Critics say that researchers should not use general questions because they don't know who the panel might be naming, decision makers, community work-horses, consultants, political dominants, old-timers, persons active in a current community issue and so on. On the other hand, if we recognize the fact that influence is a multi-faceted phenomenon, why try to restrict it by using a specific question which gets at only one aspect of it? A general question allows the researcher to get a list which includes many different types of influentials and he can try to distinguish between these by using more specific follow-up questions.

The data presented in this chapter also illustrate some of the limitations involved in comparing studies that have asked different questions. But if studies are not compared, how can a comprehensive body of knowledge be built concerning the nature of community leadership?

CHAPTER VII

TYPES OF INFLUENTIALS

For this analysis we cumulatively ranked influentials by giving 10 points for each first place ranking, 9 points for a second place ranking, etc., and one point for each tenth place ranking received by the nominees. On the basis of the accumulated scores, we were able to select a group of top or elite influentials in each community and examine these persons in terms of the way in which they ranked themselves and the way they were ranked by the rest of the sample. Bonjean, who used a similar system, called the remaining sample "non-influentials" or "non-leaders", and for the purposes of this analysis his terms shall be used here, even though this designation is not consistent in terms of the rest of our analysis.¹ (Probably 'lesser' or 'secondary' influentials would be more applicable to our research.)

SONDARIS

In Sondaris, a group of five persons made up the elite influentials. (See Chapter V for a description of the distribution of rank scores.) Table 7:1 shows the different sets of rankings; first as given by the total sample, then by the five top influentials, and followed by the non-influentials (i.e. all except those top five). The following standards were set to apply to all the towns: if the top influentials ranked one of

¹Charles M. Bonjean, "Community Leadership: A Case Study and Conceptual Refinement," American Journal of Sociology, 68 (1963), pp. 672-681.

themselves higher than did the non-influentials by 4.5 or more ranks, then this influential was called concealed. If the influentials ranked themselves lower than did the non-influentials by 4.5 or more ranks, they were called symbolic. If there was less than a difference of 4.5 between

TABLE 7:1. SONDARIS: THE FIVE TOP INFLUENTIALS AS RANKED BY THEMSELVES AND BY THE OTHER PANELISTS.

Influen- tial	Rankings by Total Sample	Rankings by Themselves	Rankings by Other Panelists	Greatest Dif- ference in Rank Order	Type ^a
A	1	1	1	0	VIS
B	2	3	2	1	VIS
C	3	2	5	-3	VIS
D	4	5.5	3	2.5	VIS
E	5	5.5	4	1.5	VIS
F	7	4	11.5	-7.5	CON

^aVIS = visible
CON = concealed
SYM = symbolic.

the two sets of rankings the person was called visible. By definition, then, a concealed influential is one perceived mainly by other top influentials and not to a great extent by other panelists; a symbolic influential is one who is perceived by the lower ranks, but not so highly thought of by the highest scoring influentials; and a visible influential is one perceived more or less equally by all panel members. The amount of difference in rank order and the type of influential are shown in the two right-hand columns of Table 7:1 for Sondaris. All five of the top influentials in Sondaris are visible but an additional person ("F"), who was

ranked fourth by the influentials, had been ranked considerably lower by the non-influentials and thus he was not among the top five generally. He may be called a concealed influential.

HOLLOBREKS

Of the seven influentials in Hollobreks, six were in the visible category, as Table 7:2 shows. Individual "F" was a symbolic influential--ranked fourth by the non-influentials but only ninth by the influentials. Two additional persons were identified, both of whom were concealed influentials.

TABLE 7:2. HOLLOBREKS: THE SEVEN TOP INFLUENTIALS AS RANKED BY THEMSELVES AND BY THE OTHER PANELISTS

Influen- tial	Rankings by Total Sample	Rankings by Themselves	Rankings by Other Panelists	Greatest Dif- ference in Rank Order	Type ^a
A	1	2.5	1	1.5	VIS
B	2	2.5	2	.5	VIS
C	3	1	3	-2	VIS
D	4	4	6	-2	VIS
E	5	5	5	0	VIS
F	6	9	4	5	SYM
G	7	6	7	-1	VIS
H	8.5	7	13	-6	CON
I	14	8	17	-9	CON

^aVIS = visible; CON = concealed; SYM = symbolic.

WESTNOOR

In Westnoor there were ten top influentials, nine of whom were visible, the other concealed ("H"). One more influential (symbolic type) was located. The results are shown in Table 7:3.

TABLE 7:3. WESTNOOR: THE TEN TOP INFLUENTIALS AS RANKED BY THEMSELVES AND BY THE OTHER PANELISTS

Influen- tial	Rankings by Total Sample	Rankings by Themselves	Rankings by Other Panelists	Greatest Dif- ference in Rank Order	Type ^a
A	1	1	1	0	VIS
B	2	2	2	0	VIS
C	3	5	3	2	VIS
D	4	4	4	0	VIS
E	5	3	5	-2	VIS
F	6	10	6	4	VIS
G	7	7	9	-2	VIS
H	8	6	11	-5	CON
I	9	9	10	-1	VIS
J	10	11	7.5	3.5	VIS
K	12	32	7.5	24.5	SYM

^aVIS = visible; CON = concealed; SYM = symbolic.

FRETOLM

In Fretolm we found 11 top influentials; eight visible and three symbolic. Two of the non-influentials were ranked relatively high by the

influentials (fourth and fifth place respectively) and so they were both labeled concealed influentials. Table 7:4 lists the findings.

TABLE 7:4. FRETOLM: THE ELEVEN TOP INFLUENTIALS AS RANKED BY THEMSELVES AND BY THE OTHER PANELISTS

Influen- tial	Rankings by Total Sample	Rankings by Themselves	Rankings by Other Panelists	Greatest dif- ference in Rank Order	Type ^a
A	1	3	1	2	VIS
B	2	2	2	0	VIS
C	3	1	4	-3	VIS
D	4	9	3	6	SYM
E	5	6	5	1	VIS
F	6	12	6	6	SYM
G	7	10	7.5	2.5	VIS
H	8	7	11	4	VIS
I	9	13	7.5	5.5	SYM
J	10	8	10	-2	VIS
K	11	11	9	2	VIS
L	14	4	15	-11	CON
M	12.5	5	12.5	-7.5	CON

^aVIS = visible; CON = concealed; SYM = symbolic.

DISCUSSION

In terms of Bonjean's typology, a total of six concealed and five symbolic influentials were found in the four towns. From the data

available, there appear to be no social factors which would account for the differences between these two types and visible influentials. Sex, age, occupations, length of residence, office-holding and number of local memberships held were all very similar for all three groups. Bonjean found that the symbolic leaders tended to be from locally prominent families, were wealthy and had lived in the community for generations. His concealed leaders were relative new comers to the community and none were from prominent local families.² There are probably several reasons for our findings being different from Bonjean's. Most important is that his study site was a city of 48,000 persons, and he had a larger sample of influentials to analyze.

Nevertheless, we did find some persons who could qualify as being called symbolic, or concealed, or visible influentials. The six concealed influentials in their respective communities were definitely ranked higher by the influentials than by the rest of the sample; and the five symbolic influentials were ranked notably higher by the non-influentials than by the influentials. If these differences cannot be explained in terms of the social characteristics for which we have information, then perhaps other characteristics (personal and/or social), for which we have no data, would provide the answers. Or perhaps it just isn't meaningful to differentiate between influentials by this system. For example, the concealed influentials are not really concealed in the usual sense of the word, that is, that nobody is aware of them; that they operate from 'behind the scenes'. The concealed influential in Sondaris, for example, got eight mentions and was ranked sixth (as measured by the total number of mentions received) of the influentials. In Hollobreks, "H" received

²Ibid.

13 mentions (ranked eighth) and "I" had 12 mentions (ranked twelfth). In Westnoor, "H" got 15 mentions (ranked eighth) and in Fretolm, "L" had 16 mentions and "M" had 15 mentions (ranked tenth and 11.5 respectively). All of these persons are top influentials in their communities (as measured by total number of mentions) and the votes they received did not only come from the elite influentials, they also came from the non-influentials. The difference, of course, is in terms of the relative ranking. That is, the non-influentials were just as likely to name these concealed influentials, but they were less likely to give them very high rankings. The same thing may be said for the symbolic influentials. They were just as likely to be named by the top influentials, but more likely to be given lower ranking (and thus lower points). It is certainly possible that what Bonjean says is true; that symbolic leaders "probably do not wield as much influence in the community as the community at large thinks they do."³ On the other hand, it also may be said that if the community at large thinks these people are influential, and they behave toward them as if they do wield influence, then they are influential, and not merely 'symbolic' influentials.

We suggest therefore, that, taken literally, Bonjean's typology can be misleading. Our hypothesis however, has been confirmed; one can distinguish between visible, concealed and symbolic influentials in a small community. The meaning of this differentiation however, remains somewhat questionable.

³Ibid., p. 678.

CHAPTER VIII

RESULTS OF THE FORMAL TECHNIQUE

NUMBERS AND TYPES OF ORGANIZATIONS

A list of all the local voluntary organizations and their officers was compiled for each community according to the procedure described in Chapter IV. Fifty-five organizations were found in Sondaris, 72 in Hollobreks, 96 in Westnoor and 135 in Fretolm. These would account for almost all of more or less significant local voluntary groups. Table 8:1 shows the proportion of each type of organization in each town classified according to the degree to which group decisions and activities might affect persons outside the group. (Also see Table 4:1.) About the same proportion of Type One organizations exist in each of the four towns; these include church boards, library boards, town councils and so on. Type Two organizations (including fraternal lodges and community service groups) apparently become relatively more common as town size increases. Type Three groups, (mainly recreational, social and athletic clubs) become relatively less common as town size increases.

The number of organizations in each community appears to be relatively large considering the populations of the towns. There are roughly 500-600 persons in Sondaris (including children) and at least 55 organizations, which comes to an average of about one organization for every 10 persons. In Hollobreks there is at least one organization for about every 15 persons; in Westnoor one for 29 persons; and, in Fretolm, one for 32 persons. Furthermore, our estimates are rather conservative.

For example, except when there was an adult advisor, all childrens' groups were omitted from this study, but children are included in the total population. Also, in the two larger towns, many womens' church groups were left out as we decided to count only the overall controlling executives of these clubs. (There were 13 United Church Women groups in Fretolm and the same number in Westnoor, but we only counted the joint executive in each town.) In addition, in these two towns, most of the adult athletic teams and clubs are organized under one large coordinating organization (such as a Minor Athletic Association and an Arena Association), and only these larger groups were included in our figures.

TABLE 8:1. TYPES OF ORGANIZATIONS (IN PERCENTAGES) IN EACH TOWN

	Sondaris	Hollobreks	Westnoor	Fretolm
Type One Organizations	22	22	17	20
Type Two Organizations	24	31	43	47
Type Three Organizations	55	47	40	33
Totals: Percent	101	100	100	100
N	55	72	96	135

NUMBER OF ORGANIZATIONAL OFFICERS

A total of 111 organizational officers were identified in Sondaris, 142 in Hollobreks, 191 in Westnoor and 280 in Fretolm. These figures are also conservative estimates, not only because many groups have been excluded, but also because there were some organizations for which adequate information was unavailable. Comparing the number of organizations in a community to the number of officers indicates that we

identified an average of only about two officers per organization. Usually voluntary organizations will have about four office positions. The study of Biggar, Saskatchewan, for example, revealed 666 officers in 136 organizations.¹ We do feel confident, however, that we have located the top officers in the more important organizations.

REPUTATIONAL INFLUENTIALS AND FORMAL LEADERS

It has been hypothesized that the reputational influentials are also the top formal leaders in each town. Influentials have been defined as those persons with four or more nominations in Sondaris and Hollobreks, and five or more nominations in Westnoor and Fretolm. Formal leaders are those persons who have earned a minimum of seven leadership points according to the scoring system described in Table 4:1. In order to score seven points, a person must be an officer of at least two organizations, including at least one major office.

A comparison of the results of these two leader identification techniques is shown in Table 8:2. This table lists the number of reputational influentials in each community, the number of formal leaders, and the number and percentage of reputational influentials who are also formal leaders. The data show that the amount of overlap differs for each town. With regard to a relationship between size of town and amount of overlap, we notice that the largest and the smallest towns have the greatest degrees of overlap; the next-to-largest town a relatively small amount.

¹Richard Laskin, Organizations in a Saskatchewan Town (Saskatoon: Centre for Community Studies, 1961).

TABLE 8:2. OVERLAP OF REPUTATIONAL INFLUENTIALS AND FORMAL LEADERS

	Sondaris	Hollobreks	Westnoor	Fretolm
Number of Reputational Influentials	15	25	32	35
Number of Formal Leaders	30	30	34	50
Possible Overlap	15	25	32	35
Actual Overlap	11	13	12	27
Percentage Overlap	73%	52%	38%	77%

REPUTATIONAL INFLUENTIALS WHO ARE NOT FORMAL LEADERS

Among the reputational influentials who are not formal leaders the majority did score at least a few leadership points (between one and six points). To be more precise:

- three of the four non-formal leaders in Sondaris scored between 1 and 6 leadership points;
- nine of the 12 non-formal leaders in Hollobreks scored some leadership points;
- thirteen of the 20 non-formal leaders in Westnoor scored some leadership points;
- seven of the eight non-formal leaders in Fretolm scored some leadership points.

All of the non-formal leaders reported holding at least one membership in a local organization; and two persons reported as many as nine memberships each.

FORMAL LEADERS WHO ARE NOT REPUTATIONAL INFLUENTIALS

Table 8:2 lists the number of formal leaders identified in each community (a number, incidentally, which was always larger than the number of reputational influentials). About two-thirds of the formal leaders in Sondaris, Hollobreks and Westnoor were not reputational influentials, while in Fretolm this proportion is about one-half. Some of these formal leaders who were not influentials did, however, receive at least one nomination as an influential. This was the case for nine of the 19 non-influential formal leaders in Sondaris, seven of the 17 in Hollobreks, 11 of the 22 in Westnoor and 13 of the 22 in Fretolm. The remaining formal leaders (organizational officers) were never mentioned as being influential.

It appears that while the formal technique identifies some persons who are reputational influentials, it also identifies many who are not. The latter may hold important organizational offices but are not perceived as community influentials. How does the formal leader who is not an influential otherwise differ from the formal leader who is? One striking difference is in terms of sex. In Sondaris eight of the 19 formal leaders who were not influentials were women. In Hollobreks, Westnoor and Fretolm, respectively, the equivalent numbers are five of 17, eight of 22, and three of 22. As has been noted (Table 5:3) only four of the 97 top influentials in the four towns studied were women. One of these also received a very high formal office score, another a fairly high score, but two did not qualify as formal leaders.

DISCUSSION

With regard to the hypothesis being tested it can be said that although there is considerable overlap between reputational influentials and formal leaders, it is certainly not complete. It is possible that the reputational influentials who are not formal leaders had been formal leaders in the past, but limitations in the research design preclude knowledge of this. It is known, however, that these persons are not completely organizationally apathetic; they all reported holding at least one membership and at least one office position. It appears as if the formal technique is not a very good index of the distribution of influence in a community. D. C. Miller certainly feels this way.

. . .I have not used the list of potential officeholders, because studies made between those nominated by repute and those simply occurring as the chief holders of office show that the correlation is quite low, maybe a 50 percent overlap. At least half of those potential officeholders do not attain nomination on the basis of their reputation for power. The reason they do not is because the only avenue to power open to those seeking it is activity. Activity is essential. The aspirant to power must be present in the arenas of community decision-making; he must stand up and be counted on issues (sic) or projects or at least he must be seen and noted. There are many people who hold potential-power positions who do not function; they are simply not active, they withdraw. . .²

He goes on to discuss the general validity of the reputational technique and emphasizes its desirability over all other identification methods.

Thus there are many explanations which can account for the discrepancy in our findings concerning the reputational and formal techniques. All of these explanations are themselves hypotheses in need of further testing. In fact, subsequent research could shed considerable light on

²Delbert C. Miller (conversation) reported in Howard J. Ehrlich, "Power and Democracy: A Critical Discussion," in William V. D'Antonio and Howard J. Ehrlich, Power and Democracy in America (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1961), p. 100.

our findings by gathering information on the functions of local organizations in a community and the reasons for persons holding offices in them. We found one type of organization with considerable importance in all four towns: the local Town Councils. This body consists of the mayor, the secretary, and six elected councilmen. Many of the persons on the Councils were reputational influentials. Other influentials had been on previous Councils. In Sondaris, six of the 15 influentials were on the Town Council (including the mayor and town secretary). One influential was on a nearby rural municipality Council, and another had been on the Town Council in previous years. Six of the 25 influentials in Hollobreks were on their Town Council (including the mayor and secretary), two more had been on a previous Council, and one influential had formerly been the mayor of the town. In Westnoor, only four of the 32 influentials were on the Council (including the mayor), but four other influentials were ex-mayors, one other an ex-councilman, and another an ex-secretary of a rural municipality. One person was the present rural secretary. Finally, in Fretolm, we found that six of the 35 influentials were on the Town Council (including the mayor and secretary), one was a rural secretary, and one had been on the Town Council previously. Although our data regarding positions held on past Councils are not complete, the figures that we do have do suggest the significance of membership (both past and present) in local government organizations in terms of being named as an influential person in a small town.

CHAPTER IX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The focus of this thesis has been the perception of community influence, some of the conceptual problems involved in defining influence (or leadership), and some of the methodological difficulties in its study.

The research was conducted during the summer of 1963 in four Saskatchewan towns: Soudary, population 500-600; Hollobreks 1,000-1,100; Westnoor 2,500-3,000; and Fretolm 4,000-4,500. The major objective of the study was the identification of community influentials. In order to accomplish this, the reputational identification technique was used. The panel consisted of persons named as influential by others so named (referred to as the snowball method of interviewing). A prominent person in each town was first interviewed (usually the mayor) and asked to name persons who he believed to be influential. The top ten ranked persons on his list were interviewed, and this process continued until there was an obvious level of consensus among the respondents as to the identity of the top local influentials.

Four indices of influence were compared: choosing influentials on the basis of (1) the total number of nominations or mentions they received; (2) only the top ten mentions; (3) only the top five mentions; and (4) a rank-order scoring system. As the latter three indices were found to be more exclusive and restrictive than the first index it was decided to use the total number of mentions as the basic technique for selecting influentials. After setting an arbitrary standard of four

nominations in Sondaris and Hollobreks and five in Westnoor and Fretolm, 15 influentials were identified in Sondaris, 25 in Hollobreks, 32 in Westnoor and 35 in Fretolm. The majority of these influentials tended to be between 36 and 65 years old, had lived in their communities for at least 10 years, were either professional people, proprietors or managers, and reported holding quite a large number of memberships in local organizations. There were only four female influentials; three in Westnoor and one in Fretolm.

In this study, three major hypotheses were tested. Two were rejected, although each showed some insightful and heuristic tendencies. The first hypothesis dealt with the concept of influence and three qualities believed to be associated with it; making community decisions, getting things done in the community and opinions carrying weight. Each panel, as a whole, was more likely to rate its influentials positively on their opinions carrying weight than on the other two qualities. We concluded that all of these qualities were related to each other, and to influence, but in different ways. Furthermore, we suggested that the use of each of the factors in a research question may yield different lists of persons (although we might expect some persons to be on all of the lists). Making community decisions and getting things done seem to be more objective and empirical measures of behavior than opinions carrying weight. Also, although there may be just a few persons in a town who actually make decisions and a few more who are active community workers, there may be a fairly large number who some people think have opinions and ideas which carry some weight. The concept of influence seems to include a combination of these qualities. Our findings suggest the

difficulties and limitations involved in comparing studies using different research questions and the desirability and necessity of achieving more methodological and conceptual consensus among researchers. A hypothetical research design was outlined in which several matched panels could be asked different questions in order that a fuller understanding of this problem be reached.

The second hypothesis was concerned with differences in perception between influentials and non-influentials. Essentially this analysis involved testing a typology of influentials developed by Bonjean in a city of 48,000 persons. We were able to distinguish between visible influentials (those given about equal ranking by the influentials and the non-influentials), concealed influentials (those ranked higher by the influentials than by the non-influentials) and symbolic influentials (those ranked higher by the non-influentials than by the influentials). The majority of influentials turned out to be the visible type, but a few concealed and symbolic influentials were located in each of the four communities. Among the available data we found no particular social variables that explained the differences between the three types of influentials. We concluded that possibly other factors would account for the differences but we also felt that perhaps the typology was not really meaningful. The concealed influentials were still perceived by the whole sample although they were ranked higher by the small group of top influentials than by the non-influentials. Similarly, symbolic influentials were just as likely to be named by the influentials as by the non-influentials, but they were ranked higher by the latter group.

The third hypothesis involved the validation of the reputational

technique of identification by a comparison with the formal technique. Based on previous research findings, it was hypothesized that the reputational influentials would also be the formal leaders. A list was compiled of most of the voluntary organizations and their officers in each town. According to a leadership scoring system, organizations were classified into three types and officers were assigned leadership points. All persons with seven or more points were considered to be formal leaders. We found the overlap of reputational influentials over formal leaders to vary between the towns; the largest overlap was 77 percent, the smallest 38 percent. As our standard for acceptance was 100 percent (or close to it) the hypothesis was not accepted. We pointed out that the formal technique identified some reputational influentials but some additional persons as well, many of whom were female. We suggested several explanations to account for the relatively small degree of overlap. These included inadequacies in the research design, differences in the nature of the communities and in the role of voluntary organizations in the communities, and differences between the formal and reputational techniques in that they involve distinctive concepts.

This study was limited to some extent by the fact that it could not always explain why certain hypotheses had to be rejected. Subsequent research might seek to explain discrepancies in concepts, in methodologies and in research findings in the area of community influence. That some people influence the behavior of others is rather obvious, but why and how they do this is less clear. Thus, further research should attempt to find out not only who the influentials are, but also why and how they are influential.

It is hoped that this study has contributed something to the understanding of influence and influentials by surveying and comparing the methodologies and results of other research. The hypotheses tested were based on the theory that there is an identifiable group of community influentials. We found this group in four different communities and there was considerable consensus as to their identity and to their relative importance in the community. We were not, however, able to reach a final definition of the concept of influence. Some clarification, we believe, was presented, especially with regard to such factors as decision making, getting things done in the community, and having opinions which appear to carry weight. The occupations of the influentials were noted as being an important related factor, as was the question of whether or not they served on the Town Council. The findings suggest the need for a multi-factor approach to the study of influence (as compared with a trait approach or a situational approach). The answer to the question of who are influentials cannot be stated just in terms of a single variable; that is, all office-holders, or all successful businessmen, or all local politicians, or all charismatic personalities. The answer even in the small town must be in terms of a combination of all of these factors.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX A

SELECTED POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE TOWNS AND THE PROVINCE OF SASKATCHEWAN

APPENDIX TABLE 1. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF AGE GROUPS IN THE FOUR
SAMPLE TOWNS AND THE PROVINCE OF SASKATCHEWAN^a

Age Categories	Sondaris	Hollobreks	Westnoor	Fretolm	Province of Saskatchewan
24 and under	41	43	49	46	48
25 to 44	20	22	24	23	25
45 to 64	21	19	17	18	18
65 and over	17	16	10	13	9
Total Percent	99	100	100	100	100
Total Size (approximate for 1961)	500	1,000	2,500	4,000	925,200

^aSource: Dominion Bureau of Statistics 1961 Census.

APPENDIX TABLE 2. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RELIGIOUS PREFERENCES IN THE FOUR SAMPLE TOWNS AND THE PROVINCE OF SASKATCHEWAN^a

Religious Preference	Sondaris	Hollobreks	Westnoor	Fretolm	Province of Saskatchewan
United Church	33	37	53	41	30
Roman Catholic	19	8	18	9	24
Lutheran	15	14	2	9	11
Anglican	14	30	8	16	11
Presbyterian	1	3	13	9	4
Greek Orthodox	8	1	-- ^b	2	4
Other	6	3	3	10	16
Total Percent	99	100	99	101	
Total Size (approximate for 1951)	400	700	1,900	3,000	831,700

^aSource: Dominion Bureau of Statistics 1951 Census.

^bLess than 0.5 percent.

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE USED IN THE RESEARCH

C O N F I D E N T I A L

Centre for Community Studies

1963 Leadership Study

PHASE I: INFLUENTIAL AND OFFICER IDENTIFICATION

Respondent: _____ Sex: M F Town: _____

Last First

Address: _____

- | | |
|--|----------------------------|
| 1. Could you tell me, first, how many years
you have lived in this community? | - less than five 1 |
| | - five to nine 2 |
| | - 10 to 19 3 |
| Number _____ | - 20 plus 4 |

- | | |
|---|--------------------------|
| 2. And what is your occupation (That is, the
<u>occupation of the house-head head</u>)? | - P., P., or M. . . . 1 |
| | - Farmer 2 |
| | - Skilled 3 |
| | - Unskilled, Clerical. 4 |
| _____ | - Other _____ 5 |
| BE SPECIFIC | |

- | | |
|---|--------------------------|
| 3. <u>IF RESPONDENT IS NOT HEAD OF HOUSE</u>
What is <u>your</u> occupation, if any? | - N.A. . . . 0 |
| | - P., P., or M. . . . 1 |
| | - Farmer 2 |
| | - Skilled 3 |
| | - Unskilled, Clerical. 4 |
| | - Housewife 5 |
| | - Retired 6 |
| _____ | - Other 7 |

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|------------------------|
| 4. What is your present age, please? | - 25 or less 1 |
| | - 26-35 2 |
| | - 36-45 3 |
| | - 46-55 4 |
| | - 56-65 5 |
| | - 66-75 6 |
| _____ | - 76 - over 7 |
| exact | |

5. Who, in your opinion, are the persons in (NAME OF TOWN) who have the most influence in the community. Please just list the names as they come to you, and don't hesitate to name yourself if you feel that you should.

REPEAT: "the persons in (NAME OF TOWN) who have the most influence in the community"

ENTER THESE NAMES ON THE NEXT PAGE

THEN ASK RESPONDENT TO LOOK OVER THE LIST AND 'RANK ORDER' THE NAMES
THEN ASK QUESTION '5a' FOR EACH NAME: THEN '5b' FOR EACH NAME.

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